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ABSTRACT

This volume is devoted to papers of an empirical or theoretical nature contributing to the study of language and communicative behavior in the Philippines. Articles included are: (1) "Three Criteria for Establishing Dialect Boundries," by Michael Ross Walrod; (2) "Topic in Tagalog Revisited," by Teresita C. Rafael; (3) "Cebuano Verb Morphology, and Application of Case Grammar, Part II, by Casilda Luzares; (4) "The Limiting Glottal Infix in Kankanaey," by Janet Allen; (5) "A Pilot Study on the Dialects of Philippine Creole Spanish," by Sister Maria Isabelita O. Riego de Dios, RVM; (6) "Kankanaey Adjuncts," by Janet Allen; (7) "Focus Shift and Tense Shift: Highlighting and Conflict in Limos Kalinga," by Hartmut Wiens; (8) "Pre-Sangir *l, *d, *r and Associated Phonemes, Part I," by Kenneth E. Maryott; (9) "Definite Objects and Subject Selection in Philippine Languages," by Curtis McFarland; (10) "Proto-Manobo *l in Agusan Manobo," by Ron and Donna Schumacher; and (11) "Kaagan-Kalagan Phonemic Statement," by Asa and Dag Wendel. (AMH)

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STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGJISTICS

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Deadlines for receipt of manuscripts for the first number of each year will be the first Friday in April and the deadline for receipt of manuscripts for the second number will be the first Friday in October. Linguists engaged in the study and description of Philippine languages are hereby invited to submit contributions for inclusion in this series.

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THREE CRITERIA FOR ESTABLISHING DIALECT BOUNDARIES

Michael Ross Walrod
Summer Institute of Linguistics
Philippine Branch

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Introduction

A thorough survey of the dialects of Ifugao Province, in Northern Luzon, Philippines, was conducted in 1972.[1] The method and results of the survey are briefly reiterated in Part 1. Three Ifugao dialects were posited as a result of the survey.

The purpose of this paper is to reexamine the data, using a third criterion to cross check the results and conclusions from the two criteria used in the original survey.

The word lists elicited during the course of the survey comprise the corpus of data used in this project. A standard list was used, the "Expanded Philippine Word List" (Reid, 1971), for the elicitation during the survey. From these lists some representative samples have been selected, and these are included in the appendix to this paper.

PART 1. The Ifugao Survey

1. The survey method

1.1 Study maps

The first step in the survey procedure is to become familiar with the geography and population centers of the area to be surveyed. This can be done by studying maps of the area, and by questioning anyone familiar with the area.

This preliminary study is the basis for a tentative selection of places to go to collect data, and places where intelligibility testing will be done when the survey reaches that stage.

1.2 Collect data

After deciding on a tentative itinerary, the data collecting begins. The equipment needed for the data collection is word lists and tape recording equipment. A standard word list should be prepared ahead of time, with a lot of copies printed. This list can then be used for elicitation at each village visited by the surveyor. In the Ifugao survey, we used the Expanded Philippine Word List (Reid, 1971).

The word lists elicited at each place visited during the survey should be transcribed phonetically, even if there is someone in the survey party who is capable of transcribing phonemically. In this way, allophonic differences are recorded. These differences, though subphonemic, may affect intelligibility between two speech communities.

As well as eliciting a word list at each village surveyed, a short narrative story must be recorded on magnetic tape. The story teller must be a permanent resident of the village being surveyed, and must not have any abnormal speech habits. The investigator can find such a person by asking for a good story teller in the village.

Once located, the story teller must be encouraged to tell a very short story (about 2 to 4 minutes), to speak as naturally as possible (avoiding loan words), and to tell a 'personal experience' story rather than some folklore narrative. A folklore story may be understood by neighboring speech communities simply because they are familiar with the plot, and this is not what the surveyor is interested in finding out.

If at all possible, a dialect surveyor should always be accompanied by the best expert available on the languages of the area. This expert can make some evaluation of the quality of the stories being obtained. That is, he is likely to notice if the story teller uses loan words from the trade language just to show off his education or experience. The expert will also be able to transcribe and translate the stories much more quickly than the surveyor who may not be familiar with the dialects of the area.

At least two tape recorded stories should be obtained from every place visited. If only one is obtained, it may later prove to be an unsuitable story for testing purposes, and an extra trip to the source of the faulty text would then be required, to replace it with a good one.

One further aspect of data collection is that of asking a lot of questions of everyone interviewed, to find out what their opinions are about which dialects are similar to their own, and which are not; which dialects are easy to understand, and which are not. These opinions can be used in conjunction with the other survey results in determining dialect boundaries. Often the opinions offered will give clues as to the prestige dialect of an area. This is vital information

for anyone wishing to translate written materials into the dialect. People will not be willing to use the written materials if they are written in a variant of the dialect which is considered inferior or 'backwoods'.

1.3 Work with the collected data

Once collected, the word lists must be compared to determine the percentage of cognate words shared by the communities in the survey area. It is not necessary to compare each list with every other one collected, but each list should be compared with those from nearby places. This procedure gives the surveyor a general idea of the dialect areas. For example, if the word lists obtained from two speech communities have 90% shared cognate forms, then it is almost certain that the people in these speech communities could communicate very well in either community.

In order to decide on dialect boundaries, one needs to decide on a threshold of cognate percentages and intelligibility test scores (see 1.4). Two places with scores above the threshold level will be considered to be in the same dialect group, but two places with scores below the threshold will be considered in different dialects.

In the Ifugao survey, and in many other surveys of this kind, the threshold has been set at 80%.[2] This is a recommended minimum of shared cognates and test scores that two communities should have if they are to share the same written materials. Cognate percentages and test scores below 80% generally signify the need for separate literature for the two groups.[3]

As well as comparing the collected word lists, the surveyor needs to prepare the tape recorded stories to be used for intelligibility testing. Looking at the translated version of the story, the surveyor makes up ten to twelve questions about the story. He must then find the relevant places in the story where the questions will be inserted. It is best to ask the question immediately after the part of the story which contains the answer. At these points in the story, the surveyor splices in a piece of blank recording tape about 18 inches long, on which the questions will later be recorded.

Once the collected word lists have been compared for cognate percentages, and the recorded stories prepared with spliced in blank spaces, the survey may move into the intelligibility testing stage.

1.4 Do intelligibility testing

Based on the results of the cognate comparisons, the surveyor is able to make rough hypotheses about the possible boundaries of dialects in the survey area. In order to test these hypotheses, and to determine more definitive boundaries, he begins intelligibility testing.

It is not necessary to test in every village from which data has been gathered. Rather, a number of test points are selected on the basis of population, geography, and the cognate percentages. It is best to test in all major population centers, unless the cognate percentages have shown that two adjacent population centers speak virtually the same dialect.

At each test point, the surveyor selects about six stories to test. One of the six must be the story that was obtained in that very place earlier. It will be the 'hometown text', and will function as a control for evaluation test subjects. If a particular test subject is unable to answer the questions about the hometown text, he will be politely excused. He is an unsuitable subject, either because he is hard of hearing, nervous, dull, or just does not understand the question procedure.

As well as the hometown text, some texts from adjacent villages should be used, and some from villages farther away. A text in the trade language is often useful, particularly if there is a possibility that the people are totally bilingual, and could use literature in the trade language.

At each test point, the surveyor must find some bilingual person, or work through an interpreter, in order to get the questions he has made up translated into the local dialect. The test questions must always be translated into the dialect of the place where the test is being conducted. The test subjects must be able to understand the questions, even if they do not understand the story which contains the answers. Once the questions are translated satsifactorily, they must be recorded in the blank spaces on the tape, each question following the point in the story to which it refers.

Ten test subjects will be tested at each test point. These ten should constitute a representative sample of the population, i.e. some young, some old, some male, some female, some educated or well-travelled, and some not.

The test subjects are tested individually. Each subject puts on a pair of headphones and listens to the test stories. The surveyor also wears a set of headphones, and stops the tape recorder after each question in the story, to give the test subject a chance to answer. The language expert accompanying the surveyor is also wearing a set of headphones, and he is the one who evaluates the responses of the test subject. Responses are scored correct, wrong, or half. A code is used and changed from time to time, so that the subject will not know if he has given a wrong answer and will not be embarrassed.

A test subject is an ideal subject if he understands the procedure and can answer all the questions on the hometown text. If he does this, then failure to answer questions on other stories is because he does not understand the speech of the story teller, and this is exactly

the information the surveyor wants to find out. (There is also the possibility that subjects will miss questions because the question is poor or the recording of poor quality; these will soon become apparent and such a question must be eliminated from the test.)

When ten test subjects in a given test point have all listened to the six stories and answered the questions, then the percentages of correct responses can be averaged. If the surveyor finds that the average score in test point A is 87% on the story from point B, he can conclude that the people in point A understand 87% of the speech of the people in point B. Points A and B could be considered to have the same dialect.

This procedure is repeated in several locations in the survey area, until enough data is available to show the boundaries of mutual intelligibility.

1.5 Determine dialect boundaries

Matrices must be drawn to display the results of the cognate comparisons and the intelligibility test scores. From these two criteria, dialect boundaries may be identified. It is not necessary for every village in a given dialect area to understand every other village very well, but there must be a center of the dialect area which is well understood by all groups in the dialect. (e.g. Point A understands 87% of the speech of point B, and point C understands 84% of the speech of point B. However, point C understands only 72% of the speech of point A. A, B, and C may still be grouped as one dialect area, provided that the speech of point B is that in which literature is produced.)

There are many possible sources of error in this survey procedure. However, in any survey involving several speech communities, the errors are likely to become very apparent as the survey progresses. Patterns begin to emerge, and results inconsistent with the patterns are scrutinized and rechecked before final conclusions are made.

2. The survey results

2.1 The area surveyed

The area surveyed was the whole of Ifugao province, although not every village was visited. The northernmost points of the survey were Laboong and Mayoyao, although these were briefly compared with data from Bontoc, Barlig, and Natonin. It was readily apparent that the Bontoc-Barlig-Natonin group constituted another language group, so these were excluded from the Ifugao survey.

To the west, the survey reached as far as Tinoc. Tinoc and Antipolo were also found to be outside of the Ifugao language family. They constitute the northeast corner of the Kallahan language family.

Lamut and Hapid were the southernmost points of the survey. Figure 1 is a map of the area surveyed. The broken line is the boundary of the Ifugao language family, and is very nearly the same as the boundary of Ifugao province. Only Tinoc and Amduntug in Figure 1 are inside the provincial boundary but outside of the language family.

Potia is the only sizable group of Ifugao speakers not included in Figure 1. It is about 20 kilometers east of Mayoyao. The whole area enclosed in the broken line is about 70 kilometers north to south, and 70 kilometers east to west at the widest point.

2.2 Representative cognate percentages

Rather than reproduce the entire findings of the Ifugao survey here, I have selected just a representative sample of the cognate percentages.[4] Of the eighteen or more word lists obtained and compared during the survey, eleven are listed in the matrix of Figure 2.

The first ten places listed on the matrix (Figure 2) are the places used for comparative purposes in Part 2 of this paper. The eleventh, Batad, was added to the matrix because it was compared with many of the other ten, and is useful in rounding out the picture of the dialect areas. For the evaluation of these cognate percentages, see 2.4.

2.3 Intelligibility test results

I have not reproduced a matrix of the test results here. However, they tended to confirm the findings from the comparison of the word lists. The average percentages on the test scores were remarkably close to the cognate percentages. The exceptions could be explained. For example, the people in Hapao scored 89% on the story from Kiangan, although the cognate percentage between the two places was only 78%. This was because Kiangan is the main trade center of the area; it is the 'prestige' dialect of western Ifugao.

2.4 Dialect boundaries suggested for Ifugao

Perhaps the most significant statistic of Figure 2 is the percentage of shared cognates between Burnay and Caba. It is a relatively low percentage, just 72.5%, although the two villages are very close neighbors, within easy walking distance. This statistic suggests a dialect boundary of some significance, especially since Burnay is quite similar to Amganad, farther north (83.4% shared cognates), and Caba is quite similar to most of the places in the eastern half of Ifugao province.

Caba, Hapid, Ayangan, and Mayoyao all have fairly high shared cognate percentages with Batad, although not always with each other. This leads to the hypothesis that these five may be in the same dialect, with Batad as the linguistic center, though not the geographical center.

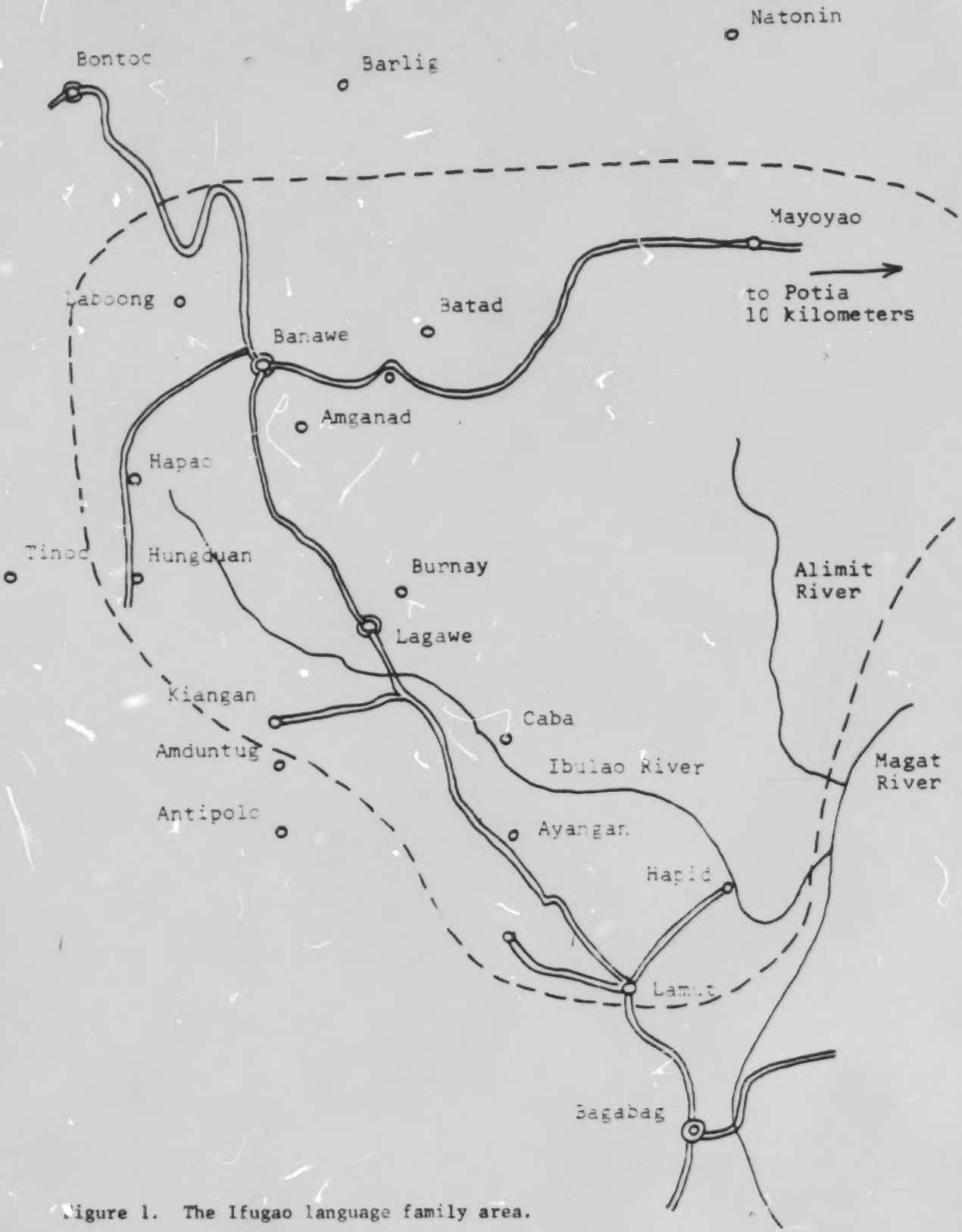

Figure 1. The Ifugao language family area.

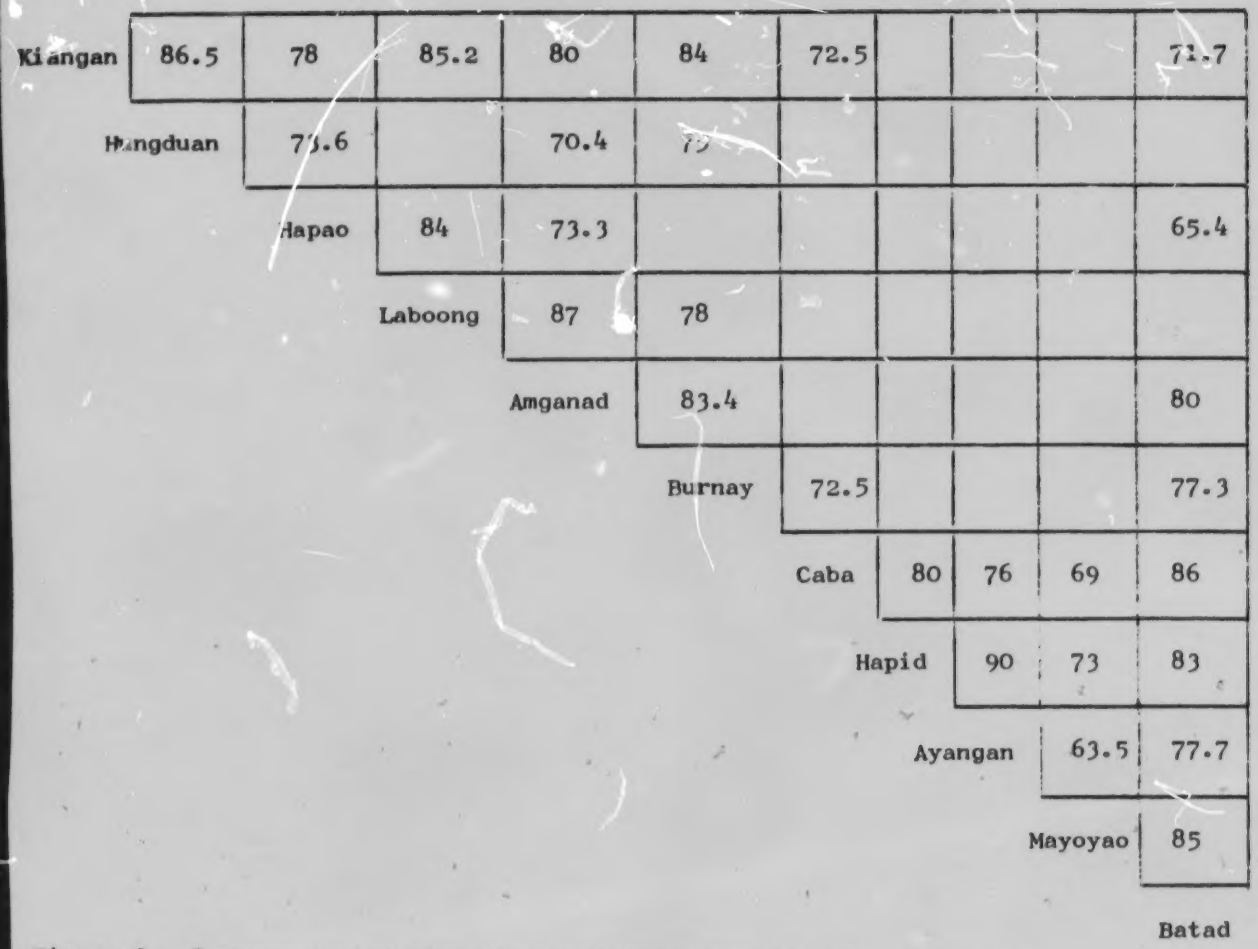

Figure 2. Representative cognate percentages from the Ifugao survey.

The upper half of the matrix in Figure 2 is a little more difficult to interpret. There is certainly a clear distinction between the western communities of Kiangan and Hapao and any of the eastern group. Kiangan shares just 72.5% cognate words with Caba, and just 71.7% with Batad. Hapao shares just 65.4% with Batad.

Within the western half of the province, there is a noticable low percentage of shared cognates between Amganad and Hungduan, and also between Amganad and Hapao. This suggests that the western half may comprise two dialect areas. Test results confirmed this hypothesis. Hapao and Hungduan people could understand the Kiangan story very well, but not the Amganad story. On the other hand, the Burnay people could understand the Amganad text well enough. Laboong was not tested, but since it has a very high percentage of shared cognates with Amganad (87), it is grouped with Amganad.

Thus two dialects were posited for the western half of Ifugao. The western dialect includes Kiangan, Hungduan, and Hapao (and points between), and the central dialect includes Laboong, Amganad, and Burnay (and points between). The Burnay people did just as well on the Kiangan story as they did on the Amganad story, but based on the results of personal interviews and intuitions of the people themselves, it was included with the central dialect.

Figure 3 shows the three dialects of Ifugao which were posited as a result of the 1972 survey. The solid line encloses the western dialect, and broken line encloses the central dialect, and the dotted line encloses the eastern dialect.

Within these three dialects, Kiangan, Amganad, and Batad were seen to be strategic centers of intelligibility for their respective dialects. This was gratifying, since field workers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics were already located and producing literature in Amganad and Batad. Only the Kiangan group still lacks its own literature.

PART 2. Rechecking the Ifugao Survey Results Using the Isogloss Criterion

1. Dialect geography

1.1 Various approaches

Although the survey method described in Part 1 does employ some useful innovations in the study of dialect geography, it is certainly not the first or the only method.

McKaughan has suggested that there are three main approaches to the study of dialect geography, which he calls "comparative, lexicostatistic, and phonostatistic" (McKaughan 1964 p.118). Which of these three is the preferred approach depends largely on the degree of divergence

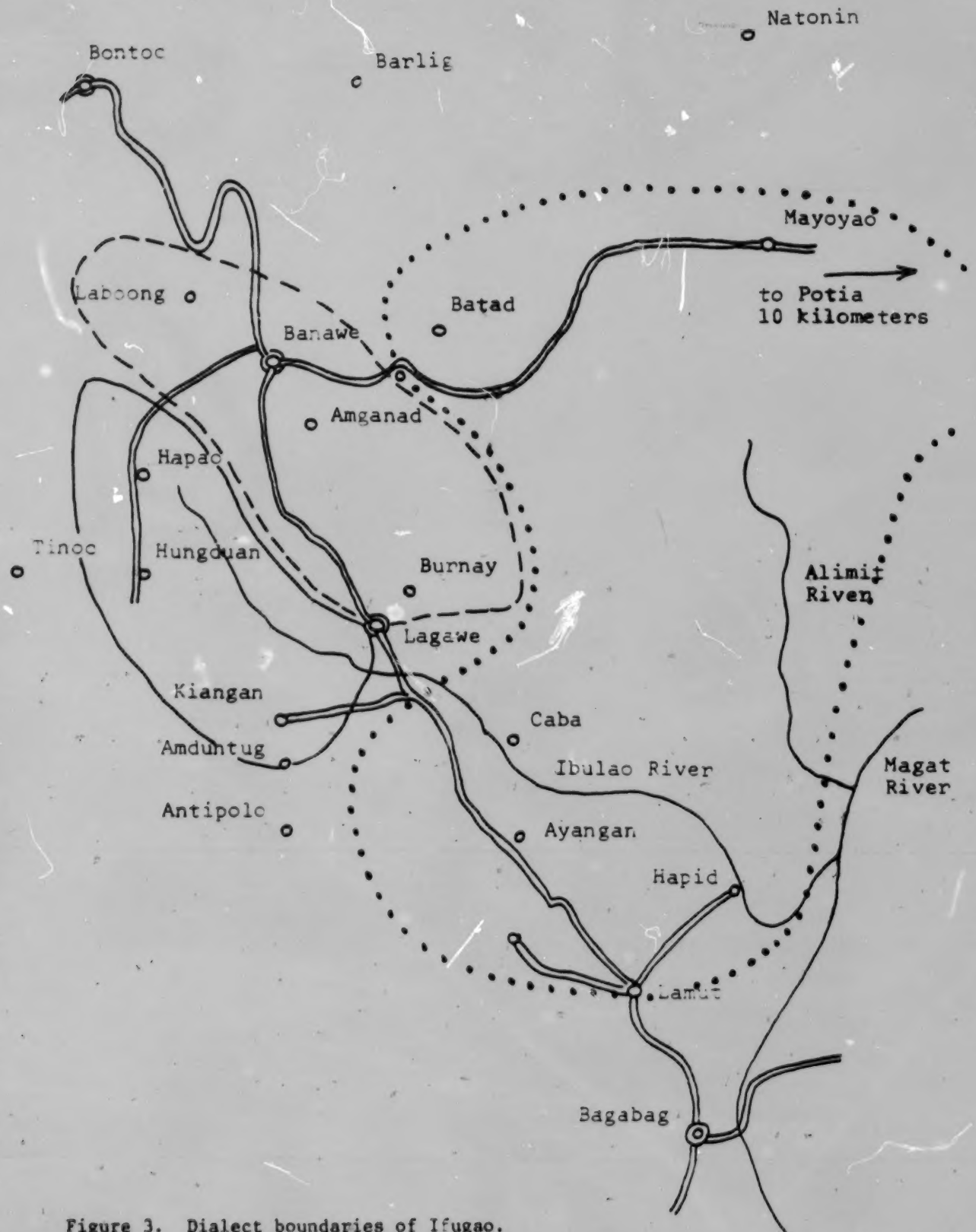

Figure 3. Dialect boundaries of Ifugao.

between the dialects being studied, McKaughan suggests. The phonostatistic method is most useful when there is very little divergence between dialects, i.e. when the differences are primarily minor sound shifts. The lexicostatistic method is most useful when comparing dialects that have diverged quite significantly, so that many of the lexical items are no longer recognizably of the same origin. And the comparative method is most useful when comparing radically divergent languages within a language family, in which case careful study is required to determine the common origin of lexical items in the languages being studied, or of grammatical patterns in the languages.

The dialect survey method described in Part 1 fits most nearly into the lexicostatistic category of McKaughan's schema. Certainly the comparison of word lists in order to determine cognate percentages is a lexicostatistic process, even though no attempt is made to determine the date when the dialects began to diverge. And the survey method, like McKaughan's lexicostatistic approach, is most useful when comparing dialects that are moderately divergent, i.e. there is still a considerable degree of mutual intelligibility between dialects in the area.

The intelligibility testing itself does not fit neatly in McKaughan's schema, but it is a fourth approach to the study of dialect geography.

1.2 The isogloss principle

Dialect geography was already a flourishing science in the days of Bloomfield.

"In a country like France, Italy, or Germany...every village or, at most, every two or three villages, has its own local dialect. The differences between neighboring local dialects are usually small, but recognizable...

The difference from place to place is small, but as one travels in any one direction, the differences accumulate, until speakers, say from the opposite ends of the country, cannot understand each other...Any such geographic area of gradual transitions is called a 'dialect area'.

Within a dialect area, we can draw lines between places which differ as to any feature of language. Such lines are called 'isoglosses'." (Bloomfield, 1933, p.51).

This is Bloomfield's definition of the isogloss principle. A significant aspect of his definition is that the isogloss may be based on "any feature of language". Therefore, all three of McKaughan's approaches to dialect geography could be used to determine isoglosses. The intelligibility testing method can be used in order to approximate dialect boundaries, but is not definitive enough to establish any isoglosses.

In this paper, I will reexamine the data collected on the Ifugao survey, employing Bloomfield's isogloss principle, and McKaughan's

lexicostatistic and phonostatistic approaches. That is, I will determine isoglosses on the basis of lexical differences and on the basis of phonological differences between communities in the Ifugao dialect area.

1.3 The corpus of data

Of the eighteen or more word lists collected on the Ifugao survey, ten have been selected for the purpose of determining isoglosses. These have been selected in order to have a sample from all parts of Ifugao province, and to have at least three samples from each of the dialects which were posited as a result of the survey (see Figure 3).

Of these ten lists, representative correspondence sets were selected as the bases for the isoglosses. The sets were not selected on the basis of how closely they conformed to the survey results. Rather, any correspondence set which showed an interesting and definitive isogloss was selected.

All the word lists were the Philippine Expanded Word List. All the correspondence sets selected are listed in the tables in the Appendix, for easy reference. The number with each correspondence set is the number of the item on the Philippine Expanded Word List. This facilitates comparison of any of these correspondence sets with any of the languages in Philippine Minor Languages, Word Lists and Phonologies (Reid, 1971), in which the same numbering is used. Also the numbers with the correspondence sets refer to the numbers of the Index of English Glosses, also a part of the Appendix.

The major isogloss bundles, as well as some unique isoglosses, are treated in the following sections. Not all the differences were used as evidence for isoglosses. For example, the difference between [u] and [o] was never used as an isogloss. There is a phonemic contrast between them in Ifugao, but the sounds are so close that I have no confidence in the consistency of my transcription of these back vowels. Therefore, I have drawn no conclusions based on [u] and [o], and a few other such pairs.

2. Isoglosses in Ifugao

Each example cited in this section will be coded to refer to its place in the Appendix. The whole correspondence set has a number (e.g. cs133.) and each village has a number (1 through 10). Here is a sample citation:

cs11. 1-4, odog; 5,6, bonog; 7-9, fonog.

This citation says that correspondence set #11 shows that villages 1 to 4 use the word 'odog' (or some very slight variant of it), villages 5 and 6 use the word 'bonog', and villages 7 to 9 use the word 'fonog'. No data is available for village 10 in this particular correspondence set.

In instances where several correspondence sets have been found to demonstrate the same isogloss, these are grouped as an "isogloss set". For each major isogloss set there is a map showing the isogloss. A heavy broken line is used to mark the main isogloss of the set. A solid or dotted line is used to mark unique 'sub-isoglosses' shown by individual correspondence sets. Each such line is numbered, e.g. 186b, which means that cs186 shows the major isogloss on the page (the heavy broken line), but also shows a sub-isogloss, as marked by the solid or dotted line.

In Isogloss Set #1 (see Figure 4), 25 correspondence sets have been found which establish the main isogloss. Of these 25, 10 also show some sub-isogloss.

2.1 Isogloss Set #1

There are two kinds of linguistic features used to establish the isoglosses, lexical and phonological. A lexical isogloss shows a boundary between places using two different words for the same meaning. These two words may have had the same origin, but are now not recognizably cognate apart from phonological reconstruction. A phonological isogloss, on the other hand, is one which marks a boundary between two different pronunciations of a recognizably cognate word. The difference may be phonemic or sub-phonemic. Probably all such differences observed in these Ifugao data are sub-phonemic, i.e. they do not represent the loss of a phoneme or the creation of a new phoneme. The number of phonemes and the contrasts are maintained, but there is some difference in the point or manner of articulation.

Isogloss Set #1 is diagrammed in Figure 4. The correspondence sets which manifest this main isogloss are:

A. Lexical isoglosses, clear cut.

cs19 'big' 1-6, ongal; 7-10, otong.

cs97 'eyebrow' 1-6, k^{h}idi/kaide; 7-10 ijoy.

cs141 'hot' 1-6, maqatong/omatong; 7-10, lumahu.

cs170 'liver' 1-6, alte; 7-10, otoy.

cs174 'lose' 1,2,4,5,6, talak; 7,8,9, utaw. (3 and 10, no data available

cs331 'under' 1,2,4,5,6, hiluk; 8,9,10, jaqol.

cs342 'water container' 1-6, alwog; 7-10 anglin.

B. Lexical isoglosses with some sub-isoglosses, but with major break between villages 6 and 7 (Burnay and Caba).

cs2 'afternoon' 1-6, himbatangan; 7-10, mapudyaw/madhom.

cs12 'bad' 1,2,6, adqadi, 3-5, lawah; 7-9, nakilo.

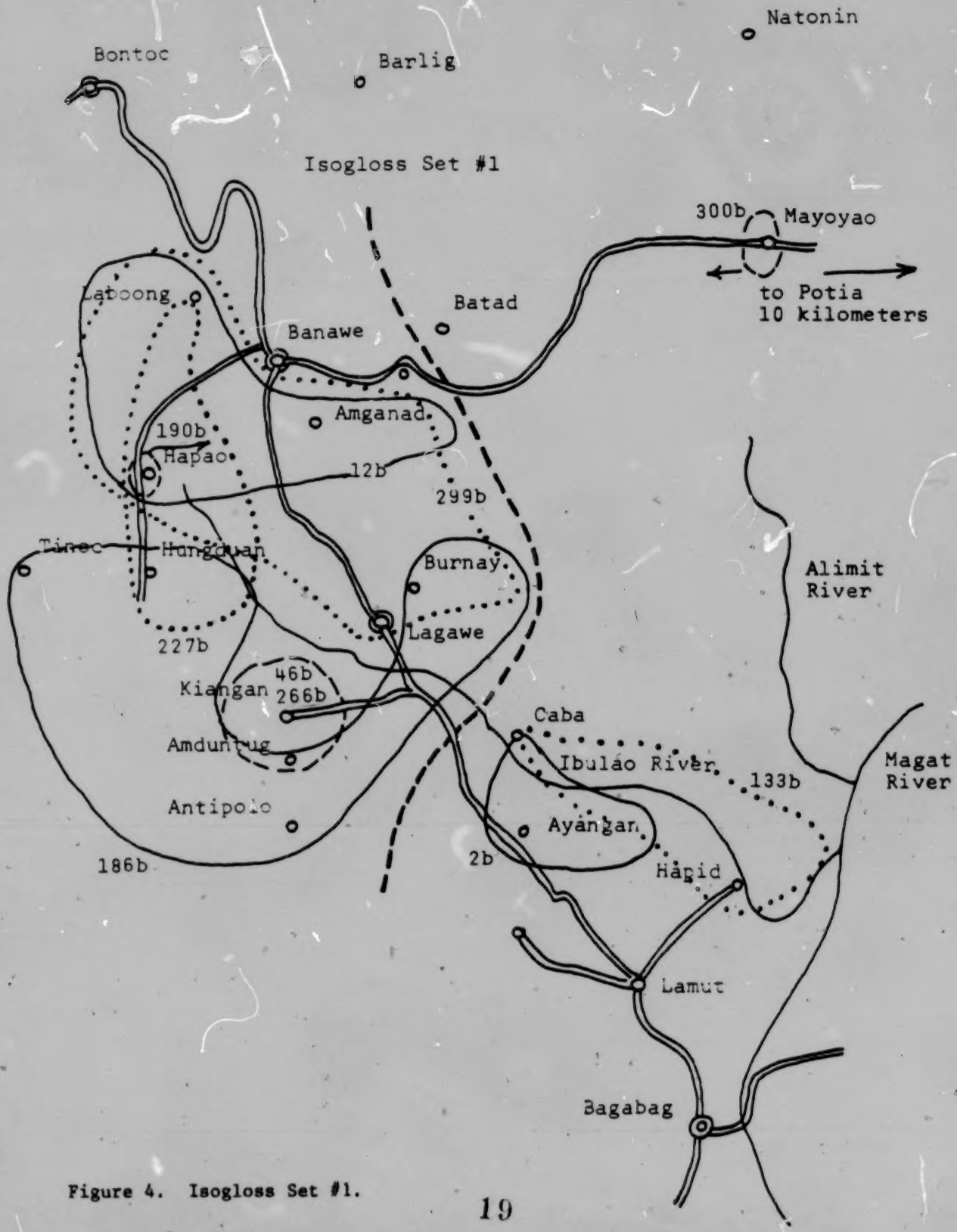

Figure 4. Isogloss Set #1.

cs46 'chest' 1, pago; 2-6, palagpag; 7-10, bughaq/fuḳaq.

cs133 'hard' 1-6, makolhi; 7-10, qadhol/nalot.

cs186 'mountain' 1,3,4,5, bilid; 2,6, duntug; 7-10, pulud.

cs338 'wall' 1-6, gaqob, dingding; 7-10, jaqlig.

cs227 'rat' 1, otot; 2-6, gando/gelew; 7-10, fuwat.

cs299 'yam' 1,2, gattok; 3-6, lapne; 7-10, luqtu.

cs190 'narrow' 1-6, nalipit; 7-10, itang (exception, village 3, kayttang, apparently a loan word from east).

cs300 'kaingin' 1-6, habal; 7-9, inuman. (exception, village 10, hab'al; loan word from west, perhaps).

C. Phonological isoglosses.

cs4 'anger' 1-6, bimungut; 7-10, fimungut.

cs8 'areca nut' 1-6, moma; 7-10, mama.

cs26 'blood' 1-6, dala; 7-10, jala.

cs60 'cotton' 1-6, kapoh; 7-10, qapoh. (The word initial glottal stop is written in these citations; in the appendix they are unwritten. All words beginning with vowels in the Appendix are preceded by glottal stop).

cs166 'lightning' 1-6, kilat; 7-10, qilat.

cs177 'many' 1-6, dakol; 7-10, jaqor.

cs187 'mouth' 1-6, toko; 7-10, taqo.

These isogloss citations do not list every phonetic variant from one place to the next. For example, for cs166 above, the first six villages have the various pronunciations: kilqat, kwayat, kirqat, kilat, and kailat. These variants are not cited above because they do not affect the particular phonological feature which is being considered as the basis for this isogloss, namely the difference between initial consonant, k versus q.

Isogloss Set #1, by far the largest bundle of isoglosses, establishes a strong boundary between east and west in Ifugao province. This isogloss corresponds exactly to the boundary of the eastern Ifugao dialect posited in the survey results. Of particular importance is the large number of consistent lexical isoglosses in this set, in contrast to any of the following sets. Lexical isoglosses are more weighty, because they are far more likely to radically affect mutual intelligibility than are phonological isoglosses, most of which are only slight variations in pronunciation.

2.2 Isogloss Set #2

This set of isoglosses is different from Set #1 in that it includes village 7, Caba, with the western part of Ifugao province.

A. Lexical isogloss.

cs322 'tomorrow' 1-7, bigat; 8-10, moqit.

B. Phonological isoglosses.

cs93 'eight' 1-7, waluh; 8-10, gwalu.

cs104 'fat' 1-7, taba; 8-10, tapwa/tafa.

cs124 'fruit' 1-7, bunga; 8-10, funga.

cs127 'ginger' 1-7, laya; 8-10, laža.

cs214 'person' 1-7, tagu; 8-10, taku.

cs254 'sew' 1-7, kugut/qugut; 8-10, qokot.

cs325 'tree' 1-7, kaqyu; 8-10, qajiw.

C. Phonological isogloss with a loan word sub-isogloss.

cs369 'worm' 1,5,6,7, kolang; 8-10, qolang. Villages 2 and 3 (Hungduan and Hapao) have borrowed the term 'bigih' from the adjacent Kallahan language.

Isogloss Set #2 is definitely not as weighty as Set #1, since most of the differences manifested here are phonological. These data show that there have been some consistent sound shifts. It is curious that Caba, which groups with the eastern dialect, tends to favor several pronunciations from the west. The most likely explanation is seemingly that Caba never made the sound shifts that the other eastern groups made. However, I do not believe that this is the correct explanation. My reason for doubting this explanation is that the verbal history of the people in southeastern Ifugao have migrated there fairly recently from the far northeast part of the province. Thus it seems more reasonable to conclude that the people of Caba, who were of northeastern origin, have borrowed back some of the original pronunciations from the Burnay people, their close neighbours.

The reason for suggesting that the western groups' speech habits are the 'original pronunciations' is that diachronic comparison shows that the western phonolgies are very close to what was the phonology of Proto-Ifugao, or even of Proto-northern Luzon. In fact there have been sound shifts among the western groups also, but not so radical as those of the eastern dialect.

A further evidence in favor of the hypothesis that Caba has borrowed some of these pronunciations from the west is the fact that borrowing has also taken place in the opposite direction, i.e. Burnay and Amganad appear to have borrowed some features from their eastern neighbors.

Isogloss Set #2 is diagrammed in Figure 5.

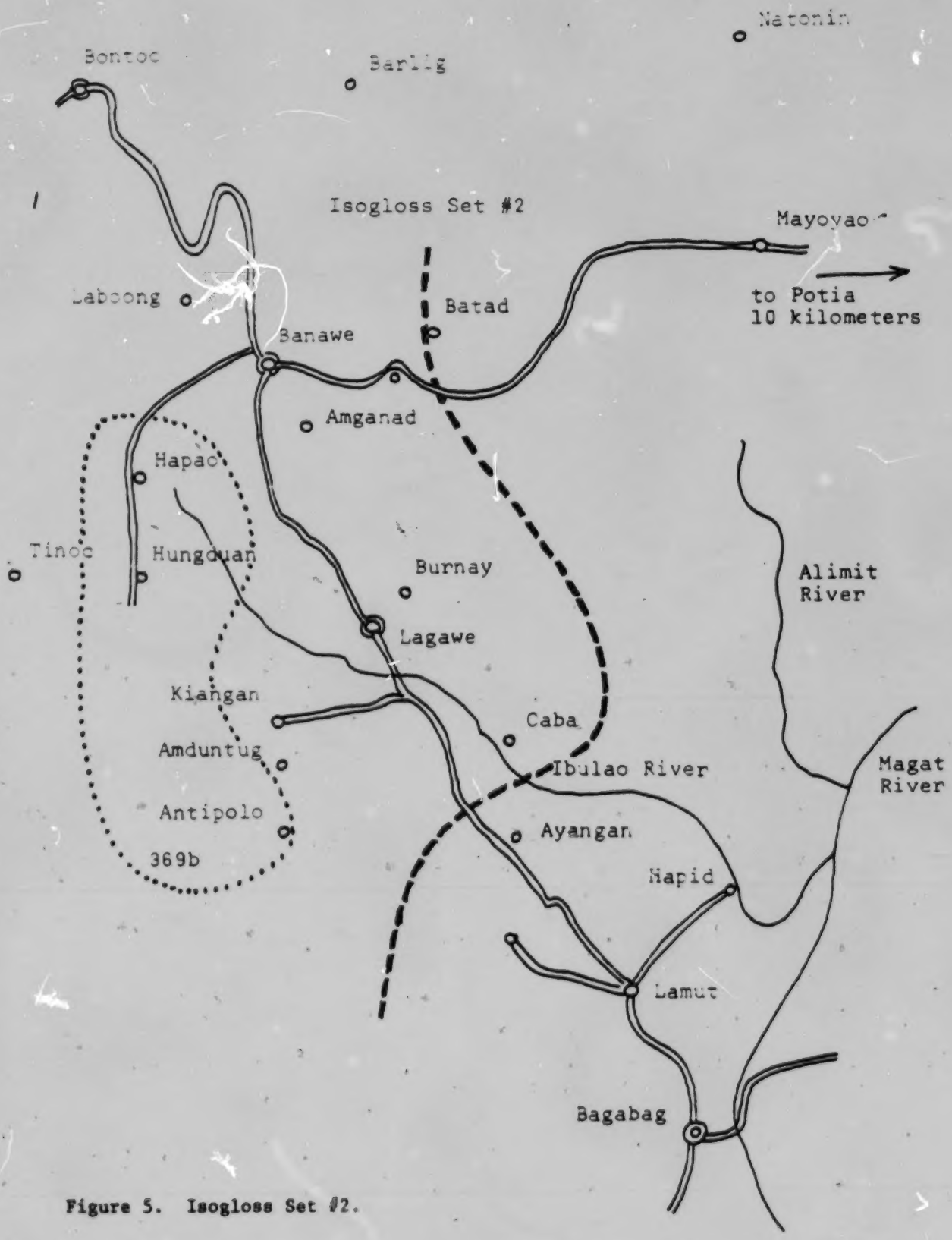

Figure 5. Isogloss Set #2.

2.3 Isogloss Set #3

This isogloss set groups Burnay with the eastern half of the province. Again, it is a much weaker set of isoglosses than Set #1, which leads to the conclusions that this set merely represents some scattered borrowings in Burnay from their eastern neighbors.

A. Lexical isoglosses.

cs151 'itch' 1-5, kiyaki; 6-9, gatol/kataw.

cs225 'rainbow' 1-4, bokang; 6-9, bongal/fonga.

cs84 'dust' 2-5, hupuk; 6-10, japul/japo. This set is unique in that village 1, Kiangan, has also borrowed the eastern form; dapqol.

B. Phonological isoglosses.

cs13 'banana' 1-5, balat; 6-10, pwalat/falat.

cs28 'body' 1-5, adol; 6-10, ajol.

cs64 'crow' 1-4, gawang; 6-10, kayang/kažang.

Isogloss Sets #3 and #4 are diagrammed in Figure 6. Set #3 is marked by the dotted line, and Set #4 is marked by the broken line.

2.4 Isogloss Set #4

This isogloss set groups both villages 5 and 6 (Amganad and Burnay) with the eastern villages 7 through 10. Since there are only a few correspondence sets manifesting this isogloss, it appears that these are more examples of borrowing. These correspondence sets are all showing lexical differences, with the possible exceptions of cs11 and cs111.

cs11 'back' 1-4, odog; 5-9, bonog.

cs14 'bark' 2, unol; 3,4, ukih; 5-9, oplak.

cs111 'fingernail' 1-4, kuku; 5-9, kulkulung.

cs246 'sand' 2-4, lagan; 5-9, panag.

cs267 'sky' 2-4, daya; 5-10, lakud.

cs269 'to sleep' 1-4, hoyap; 5-10, alok/aloq.

One more correspondence set marks this isogloss, except that it also groups Kiangan with the eastern group. This is the only such correspondence set.

cs91 'egg' 2-4, mulying; 1,5-10, itlog.

2.5 Isogloss Set #5

This isogloss set shows a sort of 'geographic metathesis', i.e. Burnay, which normally groups with the west, favors the eastern variant,

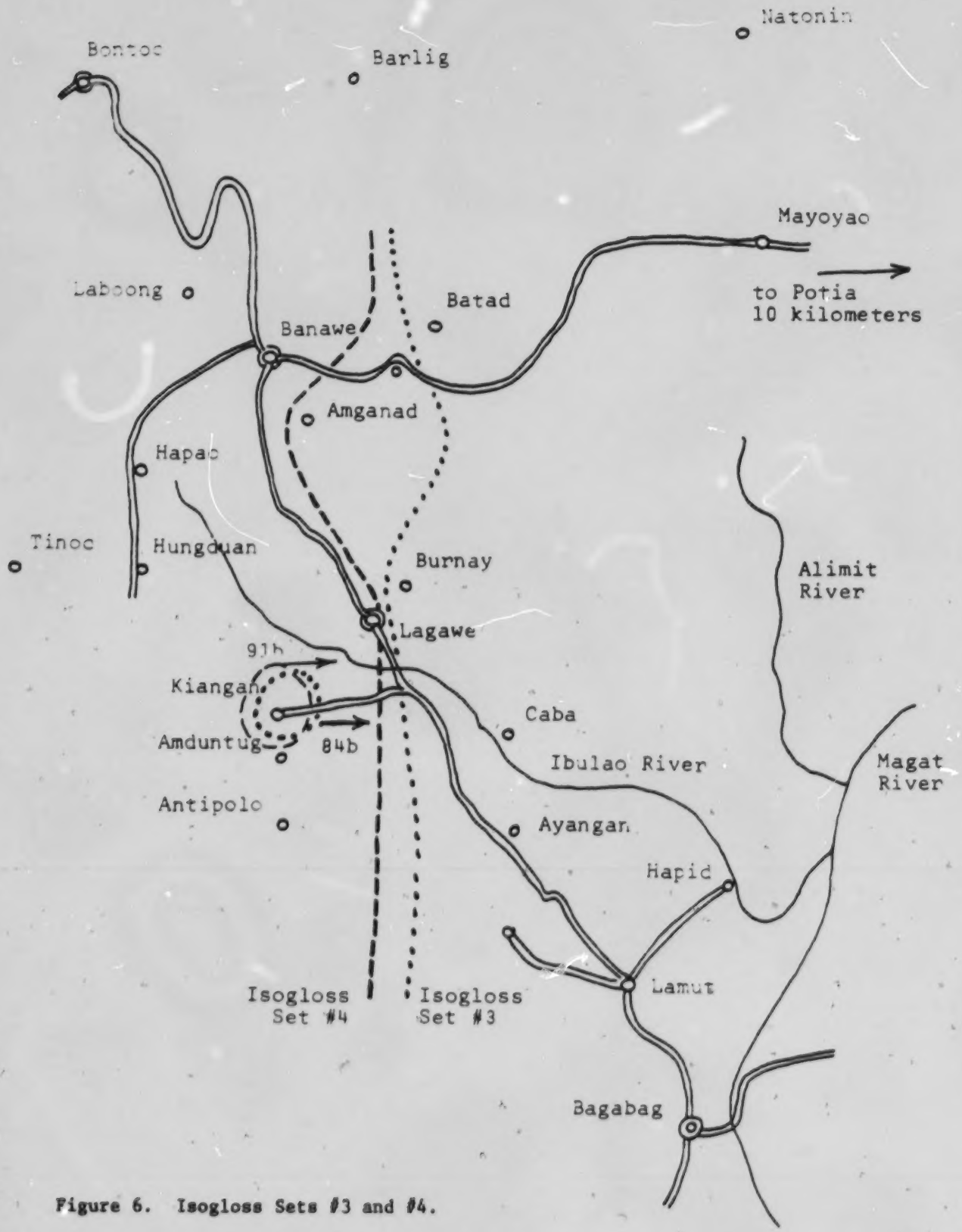

Figure 6. Isogloss Sets #3 and #4.

and Caba, an eastern member, favors the western variant. All of these sets manifest a phonological difference.

The first set is cs97. This set was used in Isogloss Set #1 as an example of a lexical difference, drawing an isogloss between Burnay (6) and Caba (7). Now the focus is on the phonological feature of alveolar stop versus alveopalatal grooved affricate, and a different isogloss results.

cs97 'eyebrow' 1-5, kidi, 7, idoy; 6, kaijeh, 8-10, ijoy.

cs128 'give' 1-5,7, idat; 6,8-10, ijat.

cs135 'hear' 1-5,7, donglon; 6,8-10, conglon.

cs137 'heavy' 1-5,7, madamot; 6,8-10, majamot.

2.6 Isogloss Set #6

This set is almost standard, like Set #1, except that village 8 (Hapid) groups with the western villages. Since there are only three such examples, it is not a very significant isogloss. Isogloss Sets #5 and #6 are on Figure 7.

cs10 'ashes' 1-6,8, dapol; 7,9,10, sapo/capor.

cs68 'dead' 1-6,8, nate; 7,9,10, natoy.

cs115 'floor' 1-6,8, dotqal; 7,9,10, dolong/jolong.

2.7 Isogloss Set #7

This set includes several correspondence sets which show a general east-west dichotomy, but there is some overlap at the border. There are some places where either the western or the eastern variant is acceptable.

A. Overlap at Caba.

cs180 'monkey' 1-6, kaqag/bulangon; 7, bulangon/tuqag; 8-10, tuqag.

cs236 'right' 1-6, wawan; 7, awan/agwan; 8-10, agwan.

cs243 'to run' 1-6, bumtik; 7, bomiq/tumagtag; 8-10, tumagtag.

B. Overlap at Caba, Amganad with east.

cs39 'buy' 1-4,6, gatang; 7, katang/ngomina; 5,8-10, ngomina.

C. Overlap at Burnay, Amganad with east.

cs72 'deer' 1-4, makawa; 6, makawa/ulha; 5,7-10, ulha.

D. Overlap at Burnay.

cs92 'eggplant' 1-5, talung; 6, tarung/balantih; 7-9, balanhi.

E. Double overlap.

cs228 'rattan' 1, litokon; 2-5, uwe; 6, uwe/letoko; 7, litoko/uggoy; 8-10, ugoy.

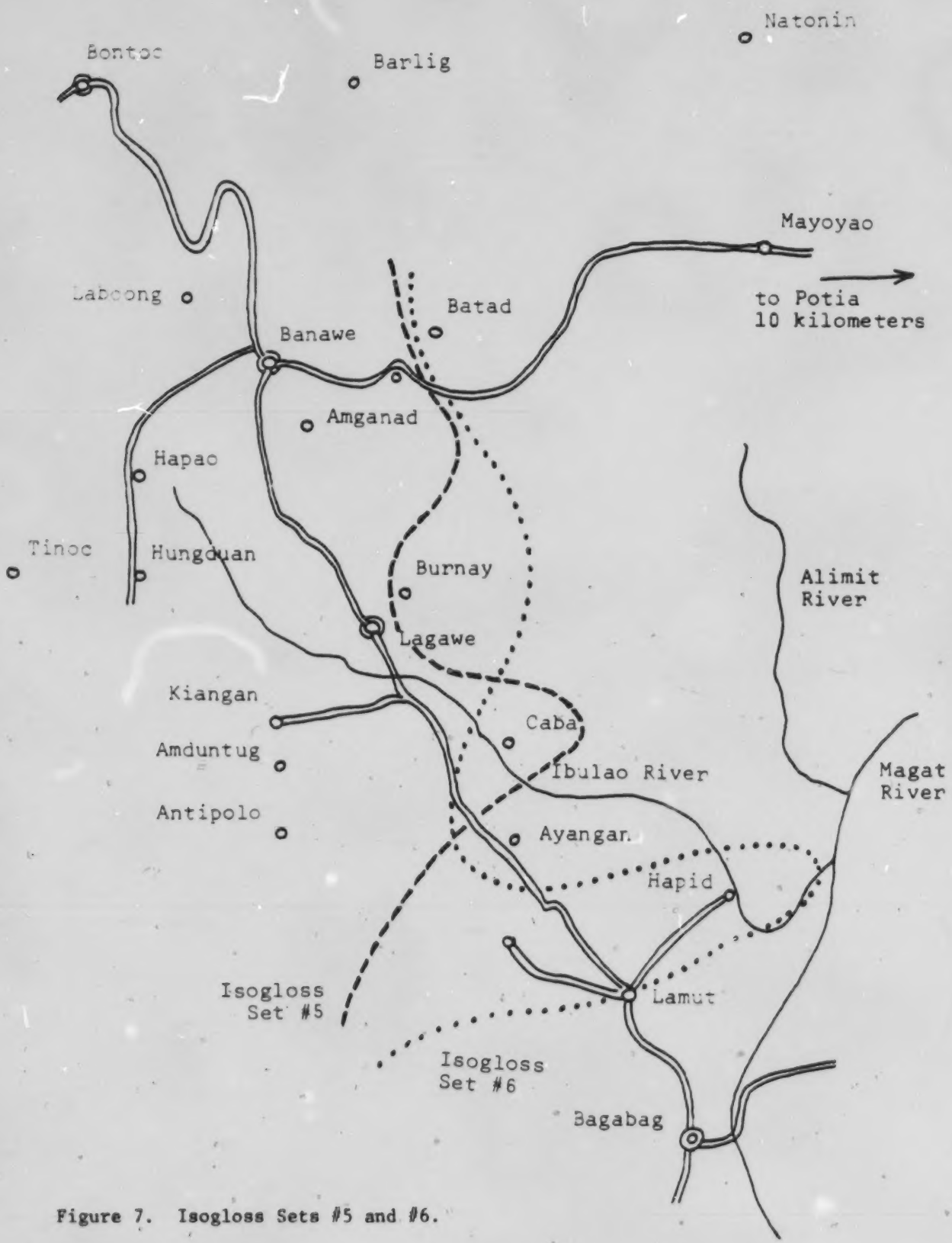

Figure 7. Isogloss Sets #5 and #6.

Isogloss Set #7 is diagrammed in Figure 8.

2.8 Isogloss Set #8

This set includes several isoglosses in the western part of Ifugao province which are the result of borrowing from the Kallahan language, and in one case, from Bontoc.

cs31 'bone' gunit; Amduntug, Kiangan, and Hungduan.

cs271 'smell' hamoy; Amduntug, Kiangan, and Hungduan.

cs52 'cloud' kolpot; Kallahan plus 1,2, and 3.

cs186 'mountain' duntug; Kallahan plus 2 and 6.

cs193 'needle' dagum; Kallahan plus 2 and 3.

cs369 'worm' bigih; Kallahan plus 2 and 3.

cs366 'woods' muyung; Kallahan plus 1,2,5, and 6.

cs367 'word' kali; Bontoc plus 1,2, and 6.

Figure 9 illustrates the isoglosses of Set #8.

2.9 Isogloss Set #9

A great deal of evidence has been presented which tends to confirm the dialect boundary of the eastern Ifugao dialect, posited in the 1972 survey. Isogloss Set #1 is the strongest evidence. But the evidence of the isoglosses is not nearly so clear in distinguishing the central and the western dialects from each other. However, the intelligibility testing did indicate a lack of understanding between villages 1,2, and 3, with the central group of 4, 5, and 6.

One feature which has not been discussed is the unique phonology of Hapao, where almost all [l] sounds are changed to [w]. This feature forms a unique isogloss around Hapao, and may account for their difficulty in understanding the central dialect. They did, however, score well on the Kiangan test; thus the two dialects posited.

The following three correspondence sets illustrate isoglosses separating central from western, although they are not perfectly consistent. There are also a few other sets which yield similar isoglosses, not included in these data.

cs341 'water' 1,2, danom; 3, danom/liting; 4-6, liting; 7-10, janum.

cs358 'wife' 1-4, ahawa; 5-7, inayan; 8-10, ahagu.

cs359 'wind' 1,2, dibdib; 3-6, puwok; 7-9, jibjib. (5, Amganad, also uses dibdib as well as puwok)

Figure 10 illustrates Isogloss Set #9.

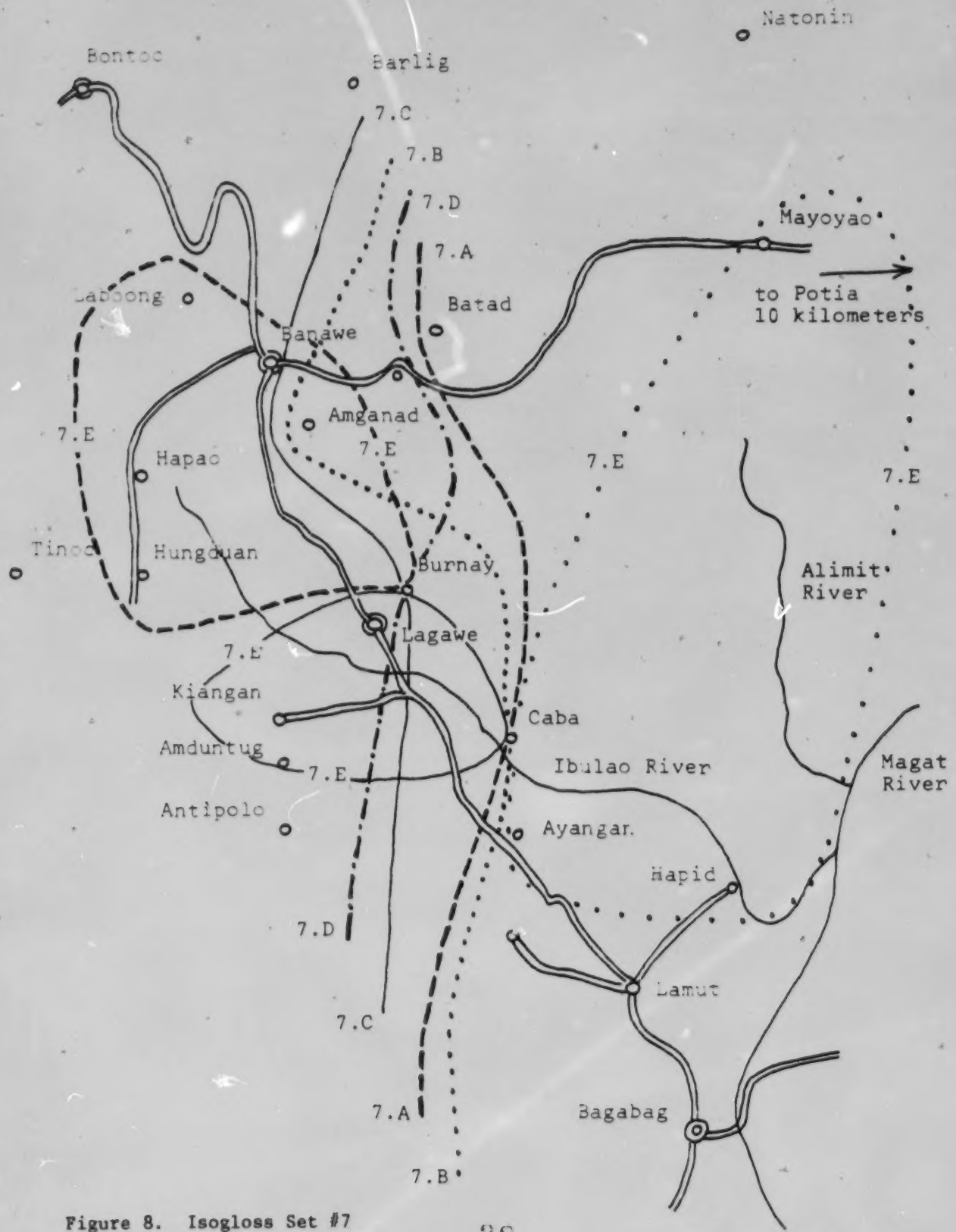

Figure 8. Isogloss Set #7

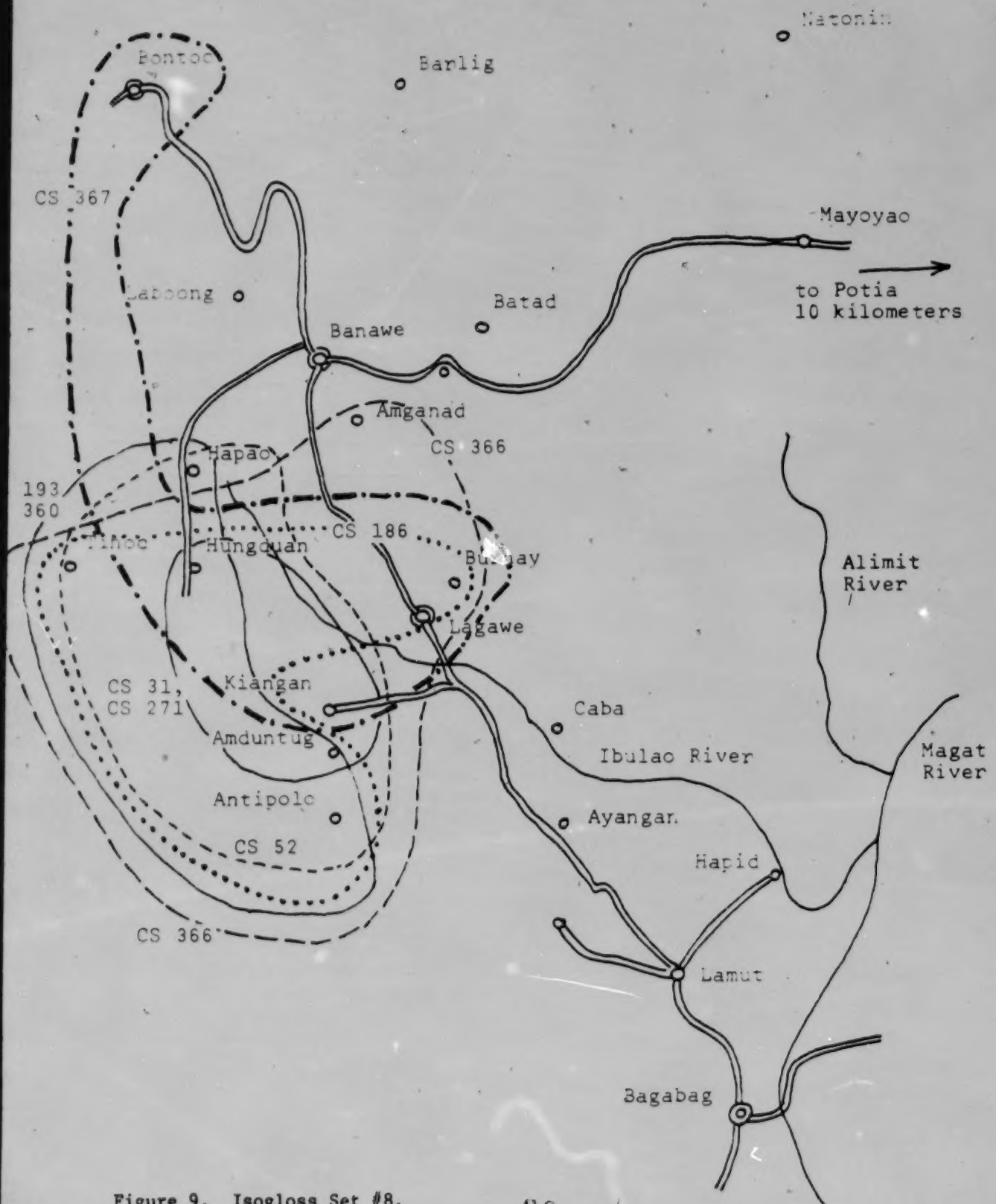

Figure 9. Isogloss Set #8.

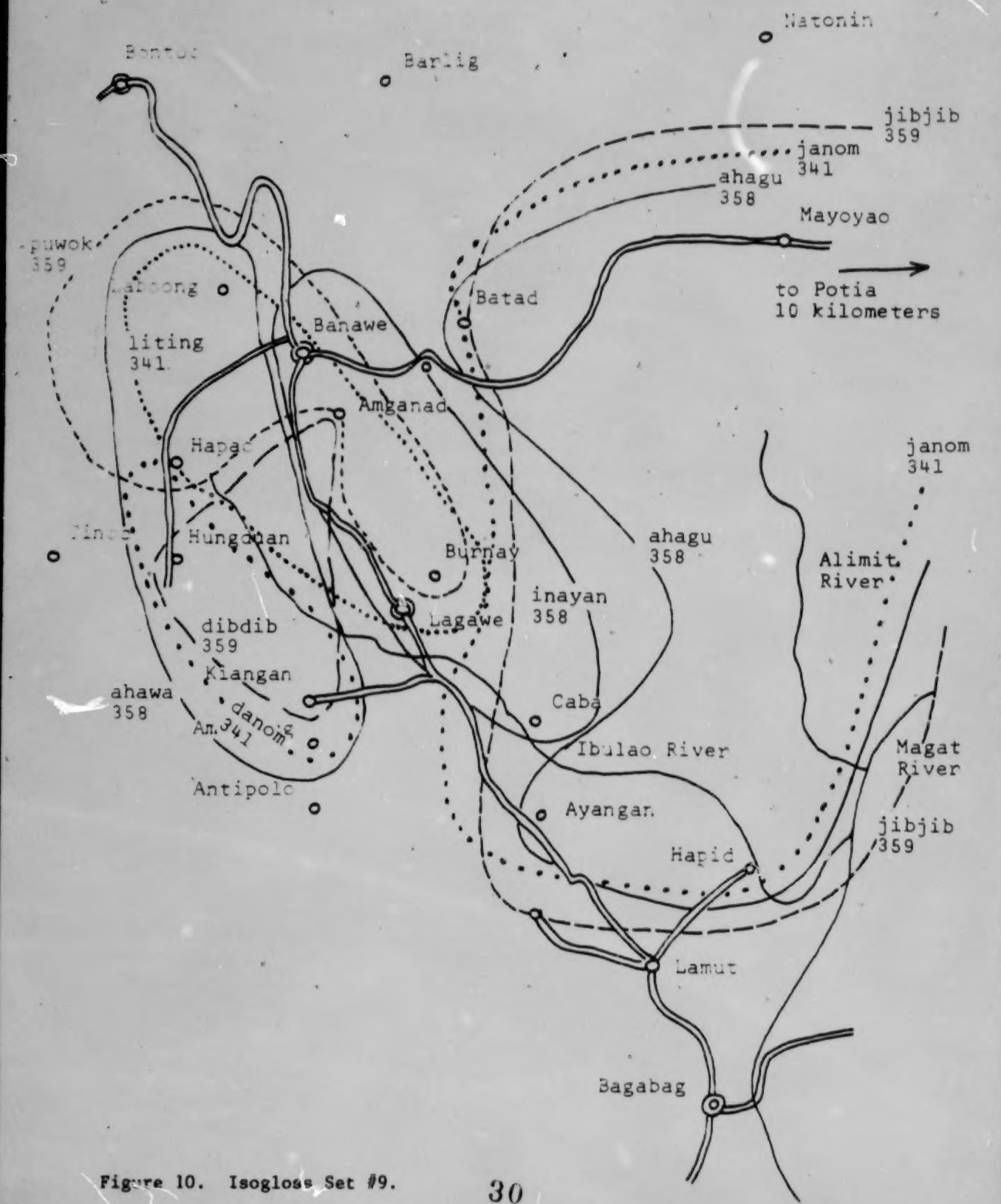

Figure 10. Isogloss Set #9.

3. Some observations concerning the phonological reflexes in Ifugao

Time does not permit an extensive reconstruction of Proto Ifugao, but some aspects of Ifugao phonology very clearly show certain sound shifts.

Proto /s/ in northern Luzon is reflected by [h] in most words in all the Ifugao dialects.

Examples: Tagalog 'asawa'; Ilocano 'asawa'; Ga'dang 'atawa'; Ifugao 'ahawa', (wife). The [t] in Ga'dang is also a reflex of Proto /s/.

Dog: Tagalog 'aso'; Ilocano 'aso'; Ga'dang 'atu'; Ifugao 'ahu'.

Cotton: Ilocano 'kapas'; Ga'dang 'kapat'; Ifugao 'kapoh'.

Suck: Bontoc 'sopsop'; Ilocano 'supsup'; Ifugao 'huphup'.

All the proto voiced stops are reflected by affricates or by unvoiced stops (sometimes labialized or palatalized) in syllable initial positions in the eastern Ifugao dialect.

Examples:

Water: Ilocano 'danum'; Ga'dang 'danum'; Kallahan 'danum'; eastern Ifugao 'čanum'.

Fruit: Ilocano 'bunga'; Ga'dang 'bunga'; western Ifugao 'bunga'; eastern Ifugao 'funga'.

Banana: Kallahan 'balat'; Ga'dang 'abat'; western Ifugao 'balat'; eastern Ifugao 'pwalat/falat'.

Blood: Isneg 'daga'; Atta 'daga'; Bontoc 'dala'; eastern Ifugao 'jala/čala'.

Proto /l/ is reflected by [r] in the syllable final environment in the eastern Ifugao dialect.

Examples:

Ashes: Kallahan 'dapol'; western Ifugao 'dapul'; eastern Ifugao 'čapor'.

Liver: Kallahan 'altey'; Ibaloi 'altáy'; western Ifugao 'alte'; eastern Ifugao 'arte/ortay'.

Proto /y/ is reflected by [ž] in eastern Ifugao.

Examples:

Ginger: Ilocano 'laya'; Ga'dang 'laya'; western Ifugao 'laya'; eastern Ifugao 'laža'.

Crow: Bontoc 'gayang'; Balangaw 'gayang'; Ga'dang 'gayang'; eastern Ifugao 'kažang'.

Conclusion

The isogloss criterion, using the lexicostatistic and the phonostatistic approaches, gave very firm support to the conclusions regarding the boundary of the eastern Ifugao dialect.

The central and western dialects posited in the 1972 survey were not so well supported by the isogloss criterion. One reason for this is that there are not so many phonological discrepancies between the central and western dialects, and these phonological discrepancies were the source of many of the isoglosses which demarcate the eastern dialect.

However, the isogloss criterion does not disprove the conclusions of the survey concerning the central and western dialects. It does offer some modest support for the conclusion that there are two dialects in the west.

APPENDIX

Index of English glosses for the following correspondence sets.

2. afternoon
4. anger
8. areca nut
10. ashes
11. back (of person)
12. bad (deleterious, unsuitable)
13. banana
14. bark (of tree)
19. big
26. blood
28. body
31. bone
39. buy
46. chest (body)
52. cloud
60. cotton (kapok)
64. crow
65. to cry
68. dead
72. deer
84. dust
91. egg
92. eggplant
93. eight
97. eyebrow
104. fat (noun)
111. fingernail
115. floor
123. frog (generic)
124. fruit
127. ginger
128. give
133. hard (substance)
135. hear
137. heavy
141. hot
151. itch
166. lightning
170. liver
174. lose
177. many
180. monkey
186. mountain
187. mouth
190. narrow
193. needle
214. person
225. rainbow
227. rat
228. rattan
236. right (hand)
243. to run
246. sand
254. sew
265. skin (of person)
266. skinny
267. sky
269. to sleep

271. to smell
299. sweet potato
300. swidgeon (kaingin)
322. tomorrow
325. tree
331. under
338. wall (of house)
341. water
342. water container (bamboo)
358. wife
359. wind
366. woods
367. word, language
369. worm (earth)

FOOTNOTES

[1]The Ifugao survey was done by the author. Assisting me in the project were Marcelo Cabigat, a native Ifugao from Amganad, Arthur Lightbody, a volunteer helper with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and two of my colleagues in the Philippine branch of S.I.L. These two colleagues were Anne West, a linguistic investigator working in Amganad, and Leonard E. Newell, linguist, working in Batad.

[2]For a complete description of the method used in this and other surveys conducted by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, see Dialect Intelligibility Testing (Casad 1974).

[3]One can never make a hard and fast conclusion about dialect boundaries on the basis of these percentages. The 80% threshold is an approximation; other factors such as prestige dialects or radical sound shifts may force the threshold a little higher or a little lower.

[4]For the complete results and statistics of the Ifugao survey, see Walrod, 1972.

1 Kiangan	2 Hungduan	3 Hapao	4 Laboong	5 Amganad	6 Burnay	7 Caba	8 Hapid	9 Ayangan	10 Mayoyao
2. himbatangan	himbatangan	himbatangan	himbatangan	himbatangan	himbatangan	mapuyaw madkom	pudyaw	madhom	napudyaw
4. bimungot	bimungot	bimungot	bimungot	bimungot	bimungot	fimungot	fimungot	fimungot	pimungot
8. moma	moma	moma	moma	moma	moma	mama	mama	mama	mama
10. dapul	dapul	dapo	dapul	dapul	dapul	sapo	dapol	sapaw	čapor
11. odog	odog	otog	odog	bonog	bonog	fonog	funog	fonog	—
12. adqadi	adqadi	hawa	narawah	lawah	adqadi	nakilo	nakilaw	nakilok	—
13. balat	balat	boawat	balat	balat	pwalat	falat	falat	falat	pwalat
14. —	unol	okiɬ	ukih	uplak	oplak	opplaq	opak	opliq	opaq
19. ongan	ongal	ongoa	ongal	ongal	ongal	otong	otong	otong	otong
26. dara	dala	dowa	dara	dala	dala	salah	ǰala	ǰala	čala
28. adol	adol	ado	ador	adol	aǰol	asol	aǰol	aǰo	ačol
31. gunit	gunit	tungoa	tungar	tungal	tongal	tongal	tongqal	tongah	tungar
39. gatang	gatang	gatang	gattang	ngina	gattang	katang ngomina	ngomina	ngomina	ngomina
46. pago	palagpag	powagpag	palagpag	palagpag	palagpag	bughaq	—	fokaq	pukaq
52. kolabot	kolpot	koput	bunot	bugut	bugut	bonot	fonot	fonot	fonot
60. kapoh	kapoh	kapoh	kapoh	kapoh	kapoh	apoh	—	apoh	apoh

[1]Kiangan	[2]Hungduan	[3]Hapao	[4]Laboong	[5]Amganad	[6]Burnay	[7]Caba	[8]Hapid	[9]Ayangan	[10]Mayoyao
64. gawang	gawang	gawang	gawwang	—	kayang	gayang	kažang	kažang	kažang
65. komga	komga	komga	kumila	—	komga	kumila	[illegible]	kumila	kumila
68. natih	nat^{h}i	nateh	nate	nate	nateh	natoy	nate	natoy	natoy
72. makawa	makawa	makawa	makawa	ulha	makawa ulha	usah	oha	uha	ulha
84. dapqol	hupok	hupuk	hupuk	hupuq	ǰapul	sapol	ǰapoq	ǰapo	čapor
91. itlug	mulin	mul^{y}ing	mul^{y}ing	itlog	itlog	itlug	itlog	iklog	itlog
92. tarom	talung	talong	talung	talung	tarung balantih	balanhih	balanhi	falanhi	—
93. waluh	waluh	walu	waru	waluh	waluh	waluh	gwaloh	gwalo	gwalu
99. k^{h}idi	k^{h}idih	kaide	kide	kide	kaiǰeh	idoy	ičoy	iǰoy	ičoy
104. taba	taba	tab^{w}a	taba	taba	tabah	tabah	tapwa	tafaq	tafa
111. koko	kukuh	kokoh	kuku	kulkulung	kolkolong	kolkolong	qoqolong	kaqomot	—
115. dotqal	dotqal	datqoa	dotqal	dotqal	dotqal	dolong	dotqal	ǰolong	čolong
123. bakbak	tukak	tukak	bakbak	bakbak	bakbak	bakbak tuqaq	—	tuqaq	tuqaq
124. bunga	bunga	bunga	bunga	bunga	bunga	bunga	funga	funga	funga
127. laya	laya	hoaya	laya	laya	laya	laya	laža	laža	laža
128. idat	idat	idat	idat	idat	iǰat	idat	ičat	iǰat	ičat

[1]Kiangan	[2]Hungduan	[3]Hapao	[4]Laboong	[5]Amganad	[6]Burnay	[7]Caba	[8]Hapid	[9]Ayangan	[10]Mayoyao
133. makolhi	makolhi	makolhi	makolhi	makolhi	makolh:h	qadhol nalot	kadhol	nallot	nalot
135. donglon	donglon	donglon	donglon	donglon	čonglon	donglon	čonglon	ǰonglon	čonglon
137. madamot	madamot	madamot	madamot	madamot	mayǰamot	madamot	mačamot	maǰamot	mačamot
141. maqatong	maqatong	omatong	omatong	maqatong	maqatong	lumahu	lumahu	lumahu	lumahu
151. kiyaki	kiyaki	kiyaki	qiyaki	qiyaki	gatol	gatol	kataw	katol	—
166. kilqat	—	kʷayat	kirqat	kilat	kailat	ilat	ilat	ilat	ilat
170. arte	alteh	owate	alte	alte	arteh	otoy	otoy	otoy	ortay
174. talak	talak	—	talak	talaq	talak	utaw	utaw	utaw	—
177. dakol	dakol	dakol	dakol	dakol	ǰakol	čoqor	čoqo	ǰokko	čoqor
180. kaqag	bulangon	kaqag	bulangon kaqag	bulangon	bulangon	fulangon tuqag	tuqug	tuqag	tuwag
186. bilid	duntug	bilid	bilid	billid	čontog	bulud	pulud	fulud	pulud
187. toko	toko	toko	toko	toqo	toko	taqo	taqo	taqo	taqo
190. nalipit	nalipit	kayttang	nalipit	nakuhipit	nalipit	itang	itang	itang	itang
193. bilat	dagum	dʸagum	tantan	tantan	biřat	tantan	tantan	tantan	—
214. tago	tago	tago	tagu	tagu	taguh	taguh	taku	taku	taku
225. bokang	bokang	bukang	bukang	—	bungal	bongal	fonga	fonga	kikan

[1]Kiangan	[2]Hungduan	[3]Hapao	[4]Laboong	[5]Amganad	[6]Burnay	[7]Caba	[8]Hapid	[9]Ayangan	[10]Mayoyao
227. otot	gando	gando	gando gelew	gelew	gelyo	fuwat	fuwat	fuwat	puqat
228. litokon	uwe	uwe	uwe	uwe	uwe letoko	litoko uggoy	ogoy	ugoy	ugoy
236. wawan	wawan	wawan	wawwan	wawwan	wawan	awan agwan	agwan	aggan	agan
243. bomtik	bomtik	butit	bumtik	bumtik	bumtik	bomiq tumagtag	tumagtag	—	tamagtag
246. —	lagan	hoagan	lagan	panag	panag	panag	panog	panag	—
254. —	kugut	kugut	ugut	ugut	ugut	ugut	okot	okot	okot
265. bolat	bolat	kopkop	kupkup	upqup	belat	opqop	opqop	opqop	opqop
266. inqpi	pigot	pigot	pigut	pigut	pigut	ungqung	onqqong	onqqong	oqong
267. —	daya	daya	daya	lagud	lagud	lakud	lakud	—	lakud
269. hoyap	hoyap	hoyop	huyop	aloq	alok	alok	aloq	alok	aloq
271. hamoy	hamoy	hunghung	hunghung	hunghung	hunghung	honghong	hunghung	hunghung	hunghung
299. gattok	gattok	hapneh	rapne	lapne	lapne	luqtu	luqtu	luqto	loqotoh
300. habal	habal	haboa	habar	habal	habal	inuman	inuman	inuman	hab^{w}al
322. bigat	bigat	bigat	bigat	bigat	bigat	bigat	moqit	moqit	maget
325. kaqyu	kaqyu	kaqyu	kaqyiw	kayiw	kaqiw	kaqyu	oǰew	aǰiw	oǰu
331. siruk	hilok	—	hilok	hiluk	ayuhuk	—	čaqul	ǰaqo	čaqol

[1]Kiangan	[2]Hungduan	[3]Hapao	[4]Laboong	[5]Amganad	[6]Burnay	[7]Caba	[8]Hapid	[9]Ayangan	[10]Mayoyao
338. gaqob dingding	gaqob dingding	gaqob	gaqob	gaqob dingding	dingding	čaqlig	čaqlig	ǰaqlig	čaqlig
341. danom	danom	d[V]anom liting	liting	liting	liting	danum	čanum	ǰanum	čanum
342. alwog	alwog	awog	aluwog	aluwog	aluwog	anglin	anglin	anglin	tanglaw
358. ahawa	ahawa	ahawa	ahawa	inayan	inayan	inayan	ahagu	ahagwa	ahago
359. dibdib	dibdib	puwok	puwok	dibdib puwok	puwok	čibčib	čibčib	ǰibǰib	—
366. muyung	muyung	pinugu	pinugu	muyung	muyung	alla	alla	alah	ačа
367. kali	kali	hapit	hapit	hapit	kali	hapit	hapit	hapit	hapit
369. kolang	bigih	bigih	—	kolang	kolang	kolang	alang	olang	o lang

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TOPIC IN TAGALOG REVISITED[1]

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1. One very striking feature of Philippine languages is the existence of concord between the verb and a nominal which is thus set off from the other nominals in the sentence. This nominal is most commonly called the topic of the sentence. In the case of sentences with nonverbal predicates the topic nominal is identifiable not through case/role concord but only through the form of the nominal or through a special set of markers (as in Tagalog ang/si) as in:

1.1. kumuha ang bata ng kamatis
got t-mkr child mkr tomato
The child got a/some tomato

1.2. kumuha siya ng kamatis
got t-he mkr tomato
He got a/some tomato

This nominal is most commonly called the topic of the sentence, although it is sometimes referred to as the subject. It is not the aim of this paper to resolve the question as to whether the topic is in fact the subject of the sentence as most universalists would want it to be. I am aware of the fact that there is a recent surge of interest in the notion of subject, and investigations are being conducted to determine whether or not such a notion may be defined in nonlocal crosslinguistic terms. With regard to Philippine languages, opinions are at variance. On the one hand, there is the claim made that the topic of the sentence is its subject because it has properties which characterize subjects in the other languages of the world (cf. Schwartz 1975). On the other hand, some linguists hesitate to identify the topic as the subject of the sentence because it appears that certain components of the subject are found not in a single constituent but are instead distributed among constituents known as the topic, the actor, and the actor topic (see Schachter 1975).

The topic of the sentence has been characterized as among other, (1) the only structure which can relativize (here, Schachter must mean the NP in the lower clause which is deleted because it is coreferential with a higher NP which may or may not be the topic of the higher clause), (2) the only structure which can launch floating quantifiers (e.g., in both kinuha lahat ng mga bata ang mga bulaklak and
got all mkr pl child t-mkr pl flower
kinuha ng mga bata ang lahat ng mga bulaklak the quantifier lahat
got mkr pl child t-m all mkr pl flower all
can only refer back to bulaklak), and (3) the only structure which can have case agreement with the verb. These, however, are syntactic processes which do not explain, although they do describe, topic.

The questions, then, which have not been asked or, if indeed previously asked, have not been answered adequately, are: Given a verb (and in nonverbal constructions, a predicate) and a series of nouns with

their respective case roles, which noun gets to be chosen as topic? What triggers such a choice? This paper will be devoted to answering these questions, at least in part.

What is evident to me is that, given only a single sample sentence in Tagalog, it is not immediately clear why one NP gets to be chosen as topic. The most cited reason for topic choice is referential transparency. That is, the NP which is most easily identifiable (perhaps because it is presupposed or immediately perceptible) is chosen as topic. What will be claimed here is that referential transparency may be necessary in most cases, but it is not at all sufficient, and that topic choice is not a unitary process but that it in fact results as a function of diverse factors operating at different times and at different levels. On the higher level of the speech act, the speaker's orientation toward the hearer and toward the reported event or state may be operating. Such a psychological orientation (which is perhaps akin to Kuno's speaker's empathy, 1975) could trigger topic choice, and in fact could dominate other choices where alternatives are available (such as in case role assignment as will be shown below). On another level, the level of the lexicon, topic choice could be dictated by classes of lexical items which normally co-occur with, or even require, topics of specific case roles. I will try to illustrate these points in the succeeding sections using Tagalog, but generalizations for other Philippine languages may be inferred from them considering the syntactic closeness of these languages.

2. Definiteness of reference

Some would argue that the NP which is definite in reference must be chosen as topic. Here, I would like to show that this is at best a weak argument, although it is true that most topics, if not all, are definite. By 'definite NP' I mean an NP which is presupposed, that is, one which the speaker knows/believes/feels/thinks/pretends he shares with his hearer - such as an entity previously mentioned in discourse or one which is immediately perceptible (cf. Schachter and Otanes 1972).

It has been pointed out to me[2] that when an object is definite it is made the topic. In the sentence:

2.1. kinain ng pusa ang isda
ate mkr cat t-mkr fish
The fish was eaten by the cat.

isda 'fish' is definite, that is, one which is at once identifiable. Moreover, isda is normally interpreted as singular (I do not discount the possibility that it could be plural) because of the absence of the plural marker mga.

What I feel operates in the choice of topic in this instance is not primarily the definiteness of reference. It is possible that both

'cat' and 'fish' are presupposed. Given, then, an event 'eating' and two participants 'cat', the performer, and 'fish', the object affected by the event, where both participants are presupposed or visible to both hearer and speaker, the speaker has the option to focus on either participant depending upon which is more prominent or central in a given segment of discourse. This is why I guess the label 'topic' is most apt. Thus, for the situation indicated above, we may have either sentence 2.1 above or sentence 2.2 below:

2.2. kumain ng isda ang pusa
ate mkr fish t-mkr cat
The cat ate a/some/the fish.

Note, however, that by promoting or foregrounding one NP as topic, the other NP is obscured or reduced referentially regardless of whether or not this other NP is in fact obscure or hazy as to reference. (Note the ambiguity of the nontopic argument. I seek to disagree with Keenan 1975 when he said that the nontopic object in a Philippine language sentence is <u>always</u> indefinite.)

In instances where proper nouns and pronouns are used, reference is always unambiguous. Take the event where one 'Rosa' visited one 'Maria'. On the semantic level, Rosa is the performer while Maria is the object affected. Here is a clear case where the speaker is forced to make a choice of focus. I would say choice is dictated not by definiteness but by some psychological orientation of the speaker (and perhaps also the hearer) toward the event of visiting, the person visited, and the person visiting. The choice between 2.3 and 2.4 below is again one of 'foregrounding' and 'backgrounding' units.

2.3. dinalaw ni Rosa si Maria
visited mkr Rosa t-mkr Maria
Maria was visited by Rosa.

2.4. dumalaw si Rosa kay Maria
visited t-mkr Rosa mkr Maria
Rosa visited Maria.

In 2.3, the speaker, by his choice of the object as topic, puts the object into prominence: In the event of visiting what the speaker considers as psychologically important is the person visited. I have a strong feeling that this is true in most cases so that sentence 2.3 is the more neutral noncolored way of describing the event. On the other hand, in 2.4, the performer is given prominence. Sentence 4 may be said to counter-assert. If it were not true that Rosa was remiss in her duty and that she did in fact visit Maria, then sentence 2.4 would be the more apt choice. By giving the performer prominence, the semantic object is 'backgrounded' and in fact reduced to a location - the location of visiting - note the marker <u>kay</u>. Note the structural similarity of 2.4 above and 2.5 below:

2.5. dumalaw si Rosa sa simbahan
visited t-mkr Rosa mkr church
Rosa visited the church.

Here we thus see an instance where topic choice actually directs case assignment, albeit partially and on a lower level. (More examples of this kind will be given later in the paper.)

3. Discourse prominence of topics

Schachter (1975 and 1977) claims that the topic of the sentence is not at all the center of attention in discourse. To support this he gives the following example:

3.1. Speaker A: Nasaan si Maria?
where t-mkr Maria
Where is Maria?

Speaker B: Hinuhugasan niya ang mga pinggan.
is washing he t-mkr pl dish
She's washing the dishes.

If the second sentence was actually the response to the first,[3] then the exchange is a good example of discourse ellipsis. The second sentence presupposes a preceding sentence, here obviously deleted, which does specify the location of Maria, and which moreover has 'Maria' for topic:

3.2. Speaker B: nasa kusina (siya)
in the kitchen (she)
(She's) in the kitchen.

In Schachter's example Speaker B did not answer the question of Speaker A directly, but instead gave additional information from where Speaker A could infer the specific answer. In actual speech, one is oftentimes inexplicit and indirect. A description of strategies of queries and responses of this sort deserves special attention (for instance with the use of the sociolinguists' ethnomethodology). However, Schachter's example does not obviate the point that indeed the topic assumes a position of prominence in discourse, that it is an argument that is commented upon and which is possibly the repeated theme in some consecutive sentences in discourse.

In the following sentences, it is not clear how the speaker makes topic choice without recourse to other discourse units:

3.3.a. naghugas ako ng pinggan sa lababo
washed t-I mkr plate mkr sink
I washed a/the plate(s) in the sink.

b. hinugasan ko ang pinggan sa lababo
washed I t-mkr plate mkr sink
I washed the plate in the sink.

c. pinaghugasan ko ng pinggan ang lababo
washed I mkr plate t-mkr sink
I washed a/the plate(s) in the sink.

It is obvious that by promoting the ambiguous inanimate object (plate) to topic (as in 3.3b), such object becomes unambiguous as to reference (specificity and perhaps number as well). However, this does not tell us very much.

One very helpful test is to find the question for which the sentences are possible responses. Sentence 3.3a is in response to:

3.4. Ano ang ginawa mo?
what t-mkr did you
What did you do?

where the information required is the action (the washing in the sink). Sentence 3.3b is in response to:

3.5. Ano ang ginawa mo sa pinggan?
what t-mkr did you mkr plate
What did you do to the plate(s)?

where pinggan is promoted to topic by virtue of a preceding query which focuses attention to it. Similarly 3.3c is in response to:

3.6. Ano ang ginawa mo sa lababo?
what t-mkr did you mkr sink
What did you do to the sink?

Notice, however, that the Tagalog question (3.6) is ambiguous. Sentence 3.3c cannot be in answer to the other reading: What did you do in the sink?

4. While it is true that the chosen topic is, in most cases, the central theme in discourse, in other cases, the choice of topic is dictated by context of another sort. Topic choice, then, indicates the sense the sentence as a whole must be taken. For the verbs below:

4.1. hawak 'hold'
sama 'go/come/be with'
sabi 'say/tell'
kalong 'place on one's lap'

it is clear to me that meaning comes first and that topic choice results to convey such meaning. Take the case of two arguments, Jose and Maria,

where Jose holds Maria by the hand. If Jose holds Maria to support, guide, or perhaps just to feel her, then Maria must be made topic:

4.2. hinawakan ni Jose si Maria
held mkr Jose t-mkr Maria
Jose held Maria.

On the other hand, if Jose holds Maria to be supported or guided by her, then Jose is made the topic:

4.3. humawak si Jose kay Maria
held t-mkr Jose mkr Maria
Jose held Maria.

Interestingly enough, case roles change with the change of topic. In both 4.2 and 4.3, Jose is the actor/performer--he does the holding by the hand. In 4.2 Maria is the object/patient. However, in 4.3, Maria is no longer the patient. By demoting the logical object to nontopic, one likewise reduces such argument referentially to location. Again, note the similarity in structure of 4.3 to 4.4 below:

4.4. humawak si Jose sa pader
held t-mkr Jose mkr wall
Jose held (leaned on) the wall.

Given another situation where Jose tells Maria he is leaving, the choice of topic indicates the mood of the sentence, and in addition, the social status of Jose relative to Maria. If Jose were lower in rank and he asked permission to leave, the correct sentence is 4.5 where the performer Jose is topic:

4.5. nagsabi si Jose kay Maria na aalis siya
said t-mkr Jose mkr Maria linker will-leave he
Jose told Maria that he would leave.

However, if Jose were higher in rank, or if Jose and Maria were coevals, and Jose gave notice that he was leaving (perhaps to warn, or threaten, or simply to make it known) then sentence 4.6 is appropriate where Maria and not Jose is the topic:

4.6. sinabihan ni Jose si Maria na siya'y aalis
told mkr Jose t-mkr Maria linker he/she will leave
Jose told Maria that he/she was leaving.

Notice that siya in the complement clause in 4.6 is ambiguous (this is not true in 4.5). It could refer to either Jose or Maria. If it were the latter, then Jose was asserting his authority and was ordering Maria to leave.

A more radical change in meaning is evident with the verbs sama and kalong. In a situation where Jose goes/comes/is with Maria, if Jose went with Maria, then Jose, the performer/actor must be made topic:

4.7. sumama si Jose kay Maria
went/came/was t-mkr Jose mkr Maria
Jose went with Maria.

On the other hand, if Jose brought Maria along, then Maria must be made topic, as in:

4.8. sinama ni Jose si Maria
went/came/was mkr Jose t-mkr Maria
Jose brought Maria (along).

In the case of kalong 'place/sat on one's lap' with two arguments: the performer/actor Jose and the object/patient Maria, if Maria were made the topic as in:

4.9. kinalong ni Jose si Maria
placed-on-lap mkr Jose t-mkr Maria

the right gloss is: 'Jose sat/placed Maria on his lap'. On the other hand, if Jose were made the topic such as in:

4.10. kumalong si Jose kay Maria
sat-on-lap t-mkr Jose mkr Maria

the right gloss would be: 'Jose sat/placed himself on Maria's lap.' Here again, Maria which was object in 4.9, is location in 4.10.

5. In section 4 I attempted to show that meaning and context are prior to topic choice and that topic choice indeed dictates the sense and the mood of the sentence. In this section, these points are again reaffirmed, but here in a special way. Consider the following verbs:

5.1. awa 'pity'
hanga 'admire'
lungkot 'feel sad'
halik 'kiss'

For these verbs, the choice of the experiencer/actor as topic would give the sentence a neutral, matter of fact sense. The choice, on the other hand, of the object as topic would give the meaning of intensity and deliberateness. For instance, in the following:

5.2. naawa ako sa iyo
pity t-I mkr you
I am sorry for you.

5.3. kinaawaan kita
pity I-you(t)
I am sorry for you.

Sentence 5.2 is said to convey a feeling of commiseration. Sentence 5.3 is condescending and patronizing. Moreover, while 5.2 expresses involuntary and spontaneous feelings, such involuntariness and spontaneity are absent in 5.3. Note that in 5.2 the topic is the experiencer (ako 'I'), while in 5.3, it is the object/patient (ikaw 'you'; kita is a combination of ko + ikaw).

Similarly, in the following:

5.4. humahanga ako sa kaniya
admire t-I mkr he/she
I admire him/her.

5.5. hinahangaan ko siya
admire I t-he/her
I admire him/her.

the speaker (ako 'I') admires the other person (kaniya 'he/she') in 5.4 for some skill this other person possesses. Such an admiration is temporary. In 5.5, the speaker (ko 'I') admires the other person (siya 'he/she') for some trait or characteristic. Such an admiration is relatively more permanent. Note again that topic is the experiencer in 5.4 and the object/patient in 5.5.

Similar observations can be made in the following pairs of sentences:

5.6. a. nalulungkot ako sa balita
feeling-sad t-I mkr news
I feel sad because of the news.

b. ikinalulungkot ko ang balita
feeling-sad I t-mkr news
I am deeply saddened by the news.

5.7. a. humalik ako sa kaniya
kissed t-I mkr he/her
I kissed him/her (out of a sense of obligation/perfunctorily)

b. hinalikan ko siya
kissed I t-he/her
I kissed him/her (this could be descriptive of a romantic situation).

The preceding examples show us (1) that again, context dictates topic choice and (2) that topic choice determines whether the sentence is unmarked (when the experiencer is topic) or marked (when the object/patient is topic) as to intensity and/or deliberateness.

6. Nonvolitional verbs

There is a set of nonvolitional verbs which normally take the object/patient as topic. Note the following sentences:

6.1. a. nakita ko ang bata
saw I t-mkr child
I saw the child.

b. naramdaman niya ang taong pumasok sa bahay
felt he t-mkr man entered mkr house
He felt(sensed) the man who entered the house.

c. narinig namin ang ingay sa labas
heard we t-mkr noise mkr outside
We heard the noise outside.

d. naamoy mo ba ang apoy?
smelled you Q t-mkr fire
Did you smell the fire?

e. natikman ko ang kaniyang luto
tasted I t-mkr his cooking
I tasted his cooking.

f. nabalitaan namin ang pag-alis mo
learned we t-mkr leaving you
We learned about your leaving!

g. nalaman niya ang lihim mo
knew he t-mkr secret you
He came to know your secret.

h. natagpuan ko ang bata sa paaralan
met I t-mkr child mkr school
I met the child in school.

i. nasalubong namin ang babae sa daan
met we t-mkr woman mkr road
We met (face to face) the woman on the road.

For the verbs kita 'see', damdam 'feel', dinig 'hear', amoy 'smell', tikim 'taste', balita 'learn about', alam 'know', tagpu 'meet (accidentally)', and salubong 'meet face to face', it is possible to focus on the experiencer--that is, to make the experiencer the topic of the sentence. But to do so, it is necessary to make the notion 'happen to' explicit through the infixation of -ka- as in the following:

6.2. a. nakakita ako ng bata
t-I
I happened to see a/the child.

b. nakarandam ako ng taong pumasok sa bahay
t-I
I happened to sense a/the man entering the house.

c. nakarinig kami ng balita tungkol sa iyo
t-we
We happened to learn a/the news about you.

d. nakatikim ako ng kaniyang luto
t-I
I happened to taste his cooking.

e. nakaamoy ka ba ng apoy
t-you
Did you happen to smell fire?

f. nakabalita kami ng pag-alis mo
t-we
We happened to learn about your leaving.

g. nakaalam kami ng lihim mo
t-we
We happened to learn your secret.

h. nakatagpu ako ng bata sa paaralan
t-I
I happened to meet a child in school.

i. nakasalubong kami ng babae sa daan
t-we
We happened to meet a woman on the road

In most cases the nontopic object is reduced referentially. That is, while the topic object is transparent as to reference, the nontopic object is often ambiguous or clearly indefinite. However, this is not always true as in 6.2 F and G where the nontopic object is clearly definite. What operates here as far as reference is concerned for the moment eludes me completely. What is clear, however, is that sentences in 6.1 and those in 6.2 are not synonymous, and will not be used in the same context. Those in 6.1 highlight the objects and are neutral, noncolored propositions. In contrast, those in 6.2 highlight the action and with it the experiencer and are more marked. That is, 6.2 sentences are possibly counter-assertive.

7. Finally, there is a set of experiential verbs for which choice of topic seems to be fixed. In the following, only the object may be chosen as topic:

7.1. mahal ko siya
love I t-he
I love him.

7.2. ayaw niya si/kay Pedro
not-like he t-mkr Pedro
He does not like Pedro.

I do not know a way by which the experiencer can be made topic in both 7.1 and 7.2 without modifying considerably the meaning of the sentence. One can say:

7.3. ?nagmamahal ako sa kaniya
loving t-I mkr he
I love him.

7.4. umaayaw siya kay Pedro
refuse t-he mkr Pedro
She refuses/denies/avoids Pedro.

Some native speaker would feel uncomfortable with 7.3.[4] This would even strongly support the point that the verb mahal is greatly restricted in topic choice. However, granted that 7.3 is grammatical, I do not feel that it is synonymous with 7.1. In 7.1 a state is being reported, while in 7.3 a process is seemingly indicated. Similarly, 7.2 and 7.4 are not paraphrases. Here by choosing different topics, different meanings are conveyed. In 7.2 the verb ayaw is simply 'not like'. In 7.4 however, the verb is radically altered to 'avoid/refuse'.

The verbs nais, ibig, and gusto likewise pattern in the same manner such as in:

7.5. {ibig / nais / gusto} ko ito
like I t-this

Note that the grammaticality of the following is questionable:

7.6. ?{umiibig / nagnanais / gumugusto} ako nito
liking t-I this
I like this.

When these same verbs take sentential complements, the experiencer must never be topic:

7.7. {ibig / nais / gusto} {*ako / ko} -ng umalis siya
like {*t-I / I} linker leave he
I want him to leave.

I do not know how large this set of verbs is. However, it appears to be a fairly closed set.

8. So now, how is topic chosen? One does not start with the definite NP and mark this accordingly as topic. One starts earlier with context. An examination of discourse and other related items such as speaker orientation toward the reported event will show that indeed topic is a manifestation of some higher order phenomena which are not confined to, although they do affect, reference. Topic choice is also very much affected by the semantic range and even the idiosyncratic properties of certain lexical items. In this paper some of these notions have been explored and exemplified. There are certain points which have not been touched but which could very well be relevant to topic choice such as notions of partiality and totality. I am sure that these are areas worth investigating. What would then be needed is a coherent theory which would tie all these diverse, seemingly unrelated factors which direct one's choice of topic in Philippine languages.

FOOTNOTES

[1]I am grateful to Lawrence Reid and Prescila Espiritu for the lengthy discussion we had at which a number of my intuitions were confirmed. I am glad to say that I incorporated a substantial amount of suggestions they made. However, I am solely responsible for whatever errors or near errors remain. I am likewise thankful to Virgilio Enriquez, Teresita Ramos, Gloria Chan-Yap, and Josie Clausen for reading the semifinal form of the paper and for the insightful comments they made.

[2]by Lawrence Reid.

[3]Another possible response (this was pointed out to me by Virgilio Enriquez) is:

Speaker B: naghuhugas siya ng pinggan
washing t-he mkr dish
She's washing the dishes.

where siya which refers back to Maria is topic.

[4]According to Virgilio Enriquez (private communication), sentence 7.3 is perfectly grammatical and means 'a continuing love with reality at the moment'.

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CEBUANO VERB MORPHOLOGY
an application of Case Grammar*

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Part II

4. Transformations

The string that co s out after the operation of the phrase structure rules may not yet correspond to the surface grammatical form. In such a case, transformational rules should apply to delete, permute, substitute or adjoin constituents.

The transformations discussed in this chapter are only some of those needed in the derivation of the Cebuano sentence. Since this paper does not attempt to account for a complete Cebuano syntax, the transformations presented here are only those that are directly concerned with the derivation of the Cebuano affixed verb.

The transformational rules are expressed in statements rather than in mathematical formulations for the sake of uniformity, i.e., while some rules lend themselves to a mathematical formulation, others do not. The transformational rules in this paper are therefore given discursively.

4.1. Detopicalization

A Cebuano surface sentence almost always contains a subject which reflects an underlying topic. This is a general rule. However, one finds a few sentence types that do not exhibit subjects. This phenomenon may be explained by one of the following possibilities. First, the actant that is marked as topic in the underlying structure was deleted by a transformational rule. Second, the constituent chosen as underlying topic underwent a detopicalization process. Third, the topicalization rule did not apply.

In this paper only the first and the second possibilities are taken as plausible explanations. The first possibility is discussed at length in 4.4 therefore nothing more about it will be said in this section. The second possibility, rather than the third, is chosen to account for the absence of the surface subject in Exclamative sentences and in sentences whose verb take on the +recent aspect. The reason for the preference of the second to the third is to allow the base rule to remain context-free.

There are two instances in Cebuano when a constituent undergoes detopicalization. One is when the Modality constituent dominates the

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*This is a continuation of the article started in Volume 1, Number 2 of this journal.

constituent Exclamative.[1] When this happens the sentence is called an exclamative sentence. In the analysis presented here exclamative sentences are limited to those whose verb nodes are filled by adjectives (i.e., state verbs) and which may or may not be accompanied by clitics such as ay or hisus, which are usually associated with exclamative sentences. In other words, sentences which are accompanied by these clitics but whose verb nodes are not filled by adjectives are considered declarative, not exclamative. In this analysis therefore, only (1) is Exclamative; (2) is not.

(1) hilabihan kadakuq sa ilang balay
'How big their house is!'

(2) hisus nahulug ang bataq
'Jesus, the child fell!'

The second instance of detopicalization occurs when +recent[2] is a constituent under Aspect. The surface realization of this type of aspect is maqu pa plus the nominalized form of the whole proposition.

(3) maqu pay (pa + ang) pagqabut sa manga bisita
'The guests have just arrived.'

(4) *maqu pay pagkahinug ang saging
'The bananas have just ripened.'

T1 - Detopicalization

The actant marked +Topic becomes -Topic when the constituents Exclamative or +recent are found under Modality.

4.2 Nominalization

This transformation follows the detopicalization transformation. The following sentences show the result of this transformation.

(5) a. gihatagan niya ang bataq ug kwarta
'He gave the child money.'

==> b. ang paghatag niya sa bataq ug kwarta
'His giving money to the child'

The underlying topicalized actant which underwent detopicalization is accompanied by the surface marker sa/kang and never by ug. The former are +definite; the latter is -definite. Note the following sentences:

(6) a. gihatag niya sa bataq ang kwarta
'He gave the money to the child.'

==> b. ang paghatag niya sa bataq sa kwarta
'His giving the money to the child'

(7) a. gibunuq niya ug batu si Pilar
'He threw the stone at Pilar.'

⟹ b. ang pagbunuq niya ug batu kang Pilar
'He threw the stone at Pilar.'

(8) a. gibunuq niya ang batu kang Pilar
'He threw the stone at Pilar.'

⟹ b. ang pagbunuq niya sa batu kang Pilar
'His throwing the stone at Pilar'

(7b) is the correct nominalized form of (7a) and (8b) is the correct nominalized form of (8a).

T2 - Nominalization

The propositional string becomes ang pag- plus the rest of the propositional string itself.

4.3 Identical Temporal Node Deletion

Temporal node refers to the Aspect and Tense nodes. When the sentence exhibits embedding, the higher and the lower S's may choose different temporal nodes, i.e., the higher S may choose tense and the lower S may choose aspect, the higher S may choose aspect while the lower S may choose tense, or both the higher and lower S's may choose tense or aspect. When the latter two options happen, the second tense or aspect node, as the case may be, is deleted. The following sentences illustrate these four options.

Tense - Aspect

(a) gustu kung muhilak
- past - completed
- begun
' I want to cry.'

(See (12) for tree.)

Aspect - Tense

(b) niqingun siya nga gwapa ka
+ completed - past
'He said that you are beautiful.'

Aspect - Aspect

(c) nagpahimuq siya ug balay para kang Ben (with underlying verb CAUSE)
'He had a house made for Ben.'

(See (10) for tree.)

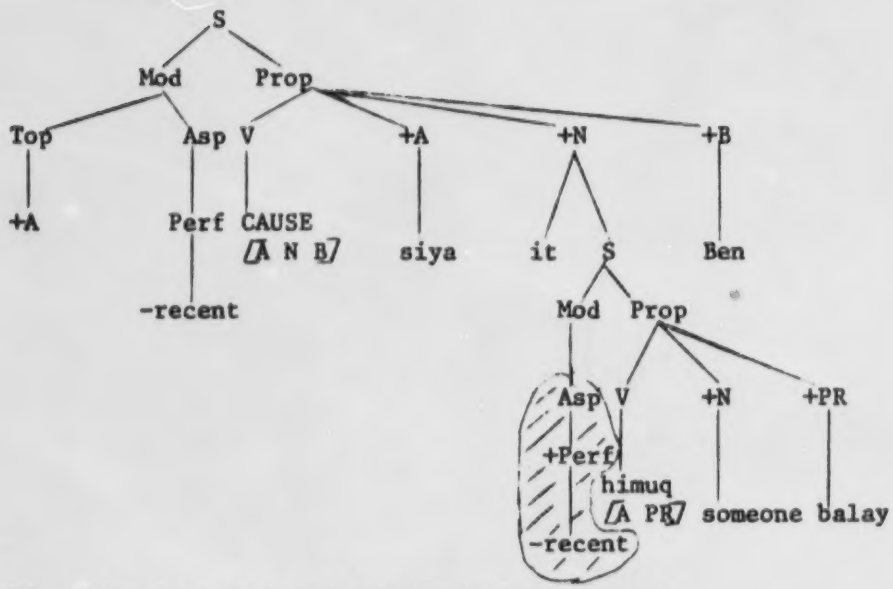
Tense - Tense

(d) gustu kug bugnaw nga tubig
- past - past

The following sentence is shown to have the phrase structure tree of (10).

(9) nagpahimuq siya ug balay para kang Ben
'He had a house made for Ben.'

(10)



T3 - Identical Temporal Node Deletion

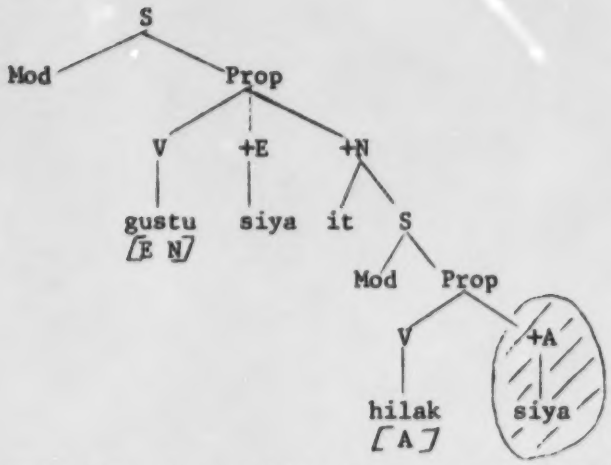
Delete the temporal node of the lower S when it is the same as the temporal node of the higher S.

4.4 Identical Actant Deletion

When two actants have the same referent, the second actant is either reflexivized or deleted. Notice how the lower siya in (12) has been deleted as shown in (11). ((12) is an abbreviated tree.)

(11) gustu siyang muhilak
'She likes to cry.'

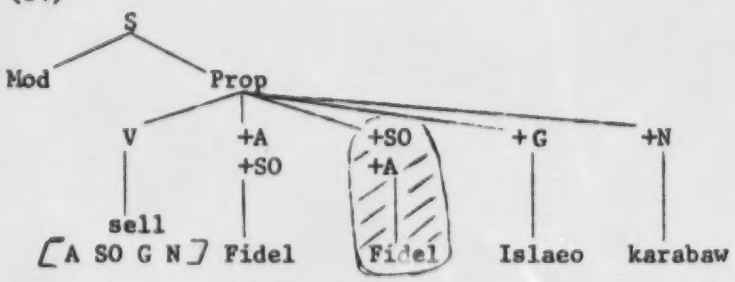
(12)



This rule also applies to actants that fulfill the same roles. Notice that the second occurrence of Fidel in (14) has been deleted as shown in (13).

(13) gibaligyaq ni Fidel ang iyang karabaw kang Islao
"Fidel sold his carabao to Islao.'

(14)



The following Cebuano sentences have the same underlying structure.

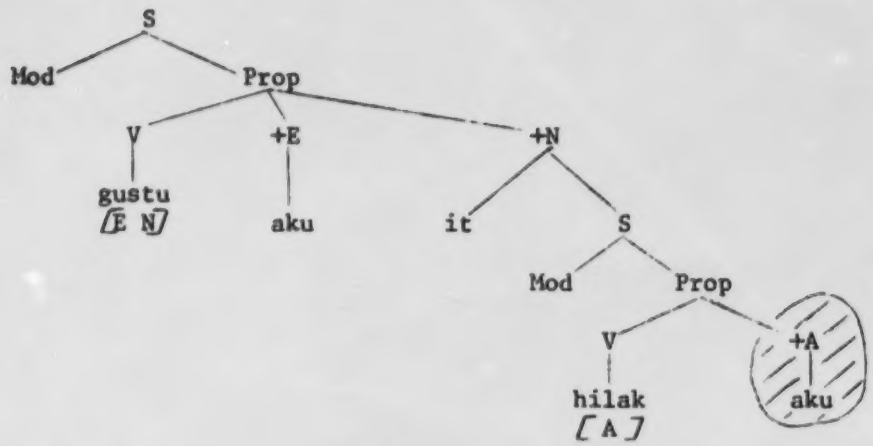
(15) maqayung ihilak
'I feel like crying/want to cry.'

(16) gustu kung muhilak
'I feel like crying/want to cry.'

These sentences share (17) as underlying structure.

(16) is arrived at after the lower aku has been deleted by the Identical Actant Deletion rule, being identical to the Experiential aku of the higher S. (15) however, went through more transformations, and is, therefore, more distant from the underlying structure than (16) is. What happened in (15) may be explained as follows. In the second lexical pass or lexical pick-up, the speaker chose maqayu in place of gustu. This triggers off a transformational process which automatically chooses i- as the prefix for the lower V. Later, the Experiential aku

(17)



is deleted by another rule.[3]

(15) and other sentences whose verb is maqayu must be interpreted as referring to the speaker only and not to another person. That is, (18) is anomalous when meant to refer to a person other than the speaker.

(18) *maqayung ihilak
'She feels like crying/wants to cry.'

It is also interesting to note that (15) does not allow other aspects except -perfective, +begun. (19) and (20) are not grammatical sentences in Cebuano.

(19) *maqayung ihilak kagahapun
'I felt like crying/wanted to cry yesterday.'

(20) *maqayung ihilak ugmaq
'I will feel like crying/want to cry tomorrow.'

To express (19) grammatically one says either (21) or (22).

(21) kahilakun ku kagahapun
'I felt like crying/wanted to cry yesterday.'

(22) gustu kung muhilak kagahapun
'I felt like crying/wanted to cry yesterday.'

There is no -perfective, -begun equivalent of (21).

(23) *kahilakun ku ugmaq
'I will feel like crying/want to cry tomorrow.'

The dictionary will contain several entries maqayu. One of these means 'good' as will be seen in (32). Another means 'to feel like doing something or to want to do something'. It is in this latter meaning

that maqayu is synonymous with gustu and never appears with a subject in surface structure.

(24) *maqayung ikaqun ang mangga
'I want to eat mangoes/a mango.'

(25) maqayung ikaqun ug/sa mangga
'I want to eat mangoes/the mango.'

(26) *maqayung iqinum ang gatas
'I want to drink milk.'

(27) maqayung iqinum ug/sa gatas
'I want to drink milk/the milk.'

When the second actant is needed for reflexivization, it is not deleted but is replaced by the reflexive NP ang iyang kaqugalinqun. Compare (28) and (29).

(28) *gidayig ni Perla$_1$ si Perla$_1$
'Perla$_1$ praised Perla$_1$.'

(29) gidayig ni Perla ang iyang kaqugalingun
'Perla praised herself.'

T4 - Identical Actant Deletion

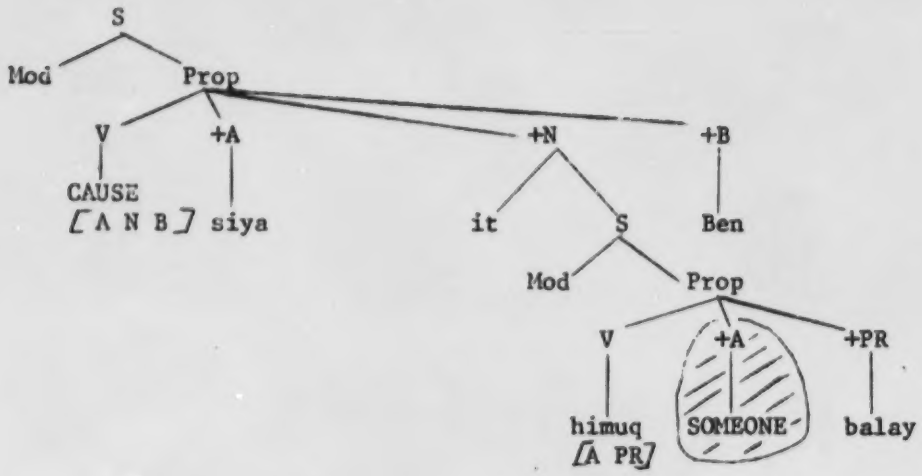
Delete the second occurrence of two co-referential actants when it is not needed for reflexivization.

4.5 Unspecified Actant Deletion

Whenever the actant is unspecified (i.e., the speaker is not interested in the identity of the referent of the particular actant), this actant is deleted. In this paper the unspecified actant is symbolized as SOMEONE, SOMETHING, or SOMEWHERE in the underlying trees.

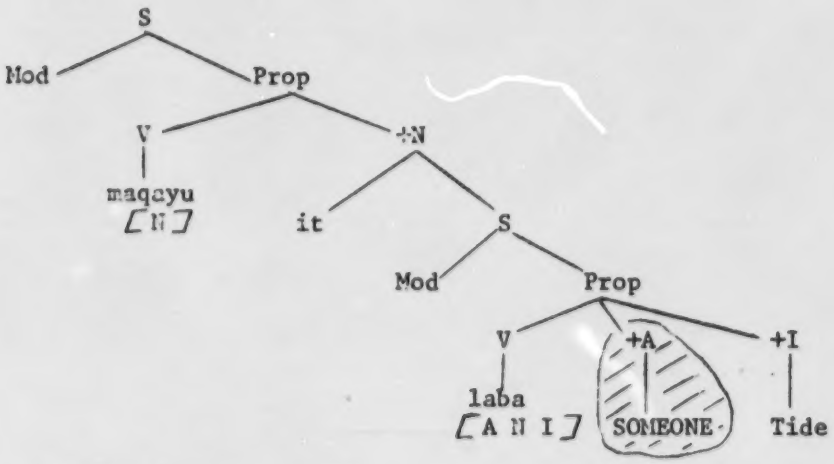
(30) nagpahimuq siya ug balay para kang Ben
"He had a house made for Ben.'

(31)



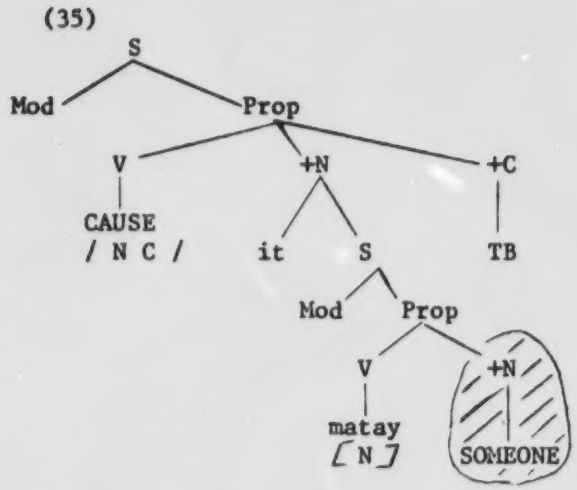
(32) maqayung ipanglaba ang Tide
'Tide is good for washing clothes.'

(33)



(34) makamatay ang TB
'Tuberculosis kills/can cause death.'

(35)



T5 - Unspecified Actant Deletion

Delete the actant dominating the lexical item SOMEONE, SOMEWHERE, or SOMETHING.

4.6 Case Copying Transformation

The case copying transformation copies one of the cases onto the V node when the V node is filled by an abstract verb[3] or by an underlying verb that allows itself to be replaced by an accompanying actant.[4] Sentence (34) for example has the verb himuq 'to make' in underlying structure. In other words, the underlying structure of (36) is also (31).

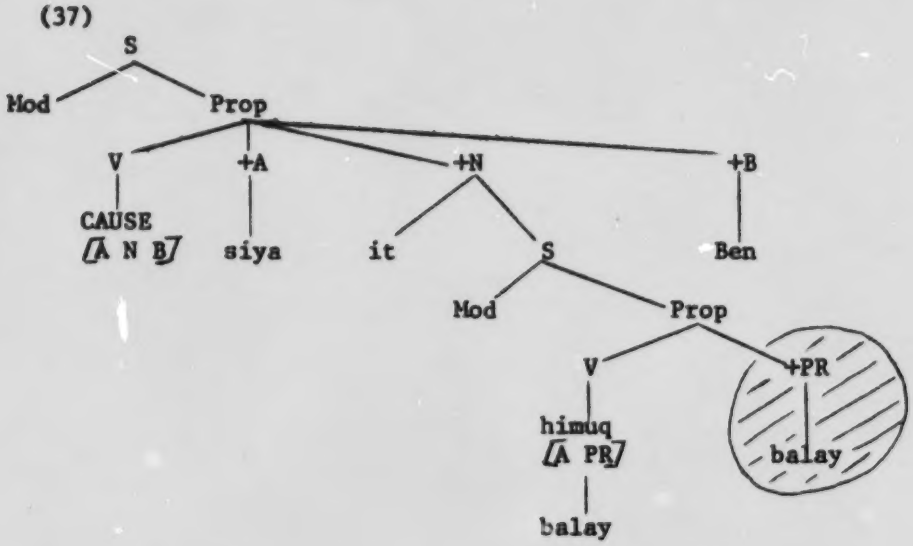
(36) nagpabalay siya para kang Ben
'He had a house made for Ben.'

This means that

(30) nagpahimuq siya ug balay para kang Ben
'He had a house made for Ben.'

and (36) are synonyms. The difference is that while (36) replaced the verb with the accompanying Product case, (30) did not. The following tree shows the result of the application of this transformation on (36).

(37)



T6 - Case Copying Transformation

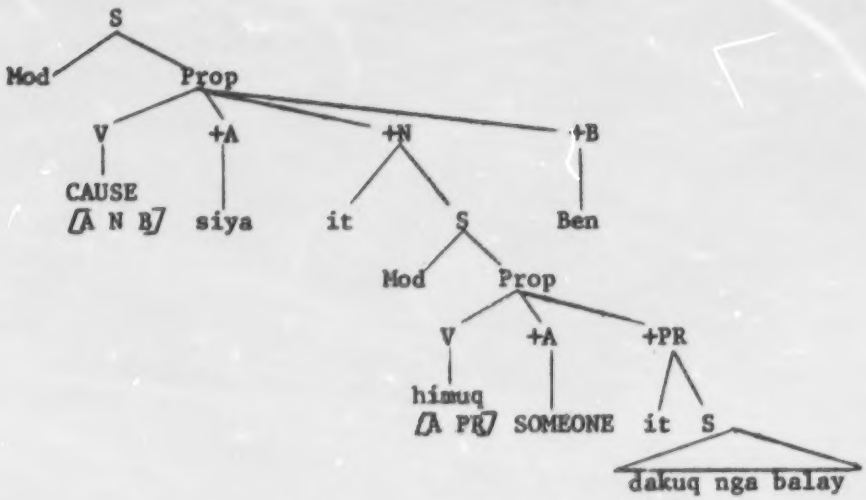
Copy the lexical realization of N, I, C, or PR onto the V node of the same S if the V is an abstract verb or a replaceable verb.

4.7 Original Case Deletion

This transformation rule has to follow the Case Copying Transformation rule. The original case is deleted after it has been copied onto the V unless the node which dominates it is an S. This means that the original balay under the PR node in (37) above is deleted because that node does not dominate an S. On the other hand, balay in (39) does not get deleted after it has been copied under the V node because the PR node dominates an S.

(38) nagpabalay siya ug dakung balay para kang Ben
'He had a big house made for Ben.'

(39)



This transformation also accounts for the following sentences. (40) underwent the transformation because I does not dominate an S; (41) is ungrammatical because it did not undergo this transformation when it should; (42) does not undergo the transformation because its I dominates an S.

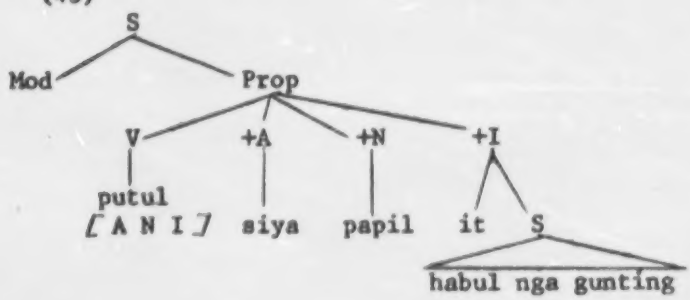
(40) gigunting niya ang papil
'He cut the paper with scissors.'

(41) *gigunting niya ang papil sa gunting
'He cut the paper with the scissors.'

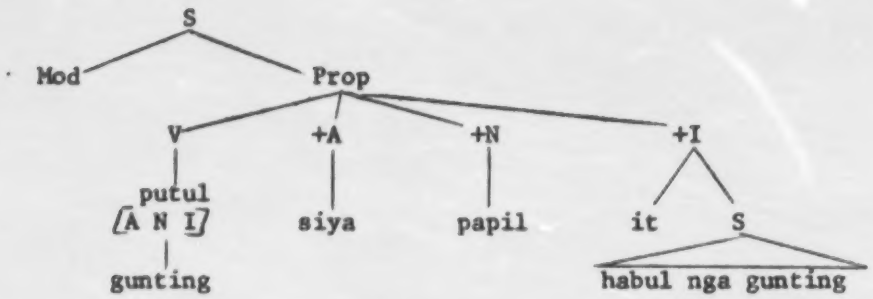
(42) gigunting niya ang papil sa habul nga gunting
'He cut the paper with dull scissors.'

(43) and (44) show the derivation of (42).

(43)



(44)



T7 - Original Case Deletion

Delete any of the nodes N, I, G or PR which has been copied onto the V node of the same S unless it dominates an S.

4.8 Instrumental-Partitive Deletion

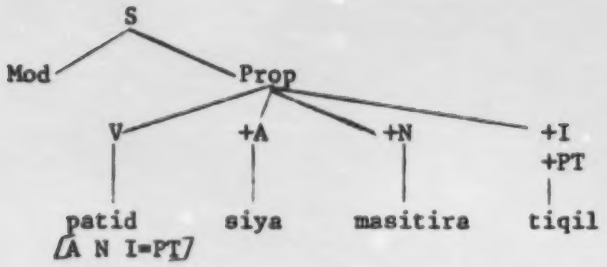
When an Instrumental actant is at the same time a body-part of the Agent and is normally associated with the accomplishment of the action expressed by the verb, it is deleted unless the node under which it comes dominates an S. Some of the verbs that need the Instrumental-Partitive are the following. Notice that these verbs are accompanied by what may be categorized as 'inalienable possessions' following Fillmore (1968).

dagpiq	'slap lightly (with the palm of the hand)'
haluk	'kiss (with the lips)'
kablit	'touch someone with a curling finger'
kidhat	'wink (with the eyes)'
kuhit	'touch someone or something with a curling finger'
kusiq	'pinch (with the fingers)'
lamanu	'shake hands with someone'
patid	'kick (with the foot)'
sagpaq	'slap (with the palm of the hand)'
simhut	'smell (with the nose)'
sumbag	'box (with the fist)'
tilap	'lick (with the tongue)'

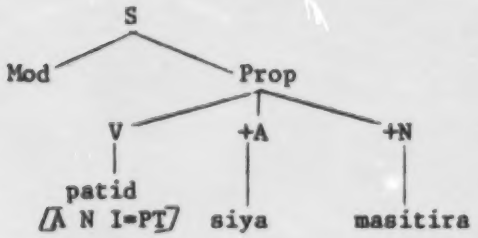
(46) and (47) show the derivation of (45) and the result of the Instrumental-Partitive Deletion Transformation on (45).

(45) gipatiran niya ang masitira
'He kicked the flower pot.'

(46)



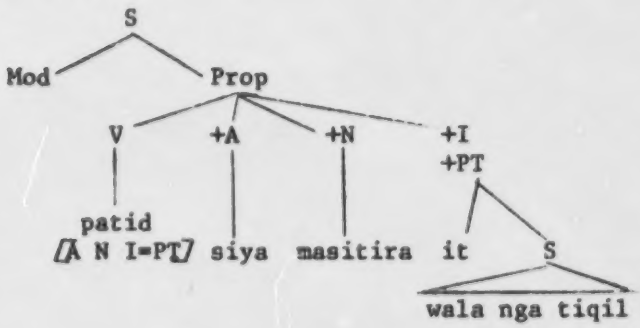
(47)



The Instrumental-Partitive Deletion Transformation does not apply on (48) because the I=PT node is an S.

(48) gipatiran niya ang masitira sa iyang walang tiqil
'He kicked the flower pot with his left foot.'

(49)



T8 - Instrumental-Partitive Deletion

Delete the Instrumental actant when it is at the same time a body-part of the Agent and is a part of the lexical meaning of the verb, i.e., it is normally associated with the accomplishment of the action expressed by the verb, unless it dominates an S.

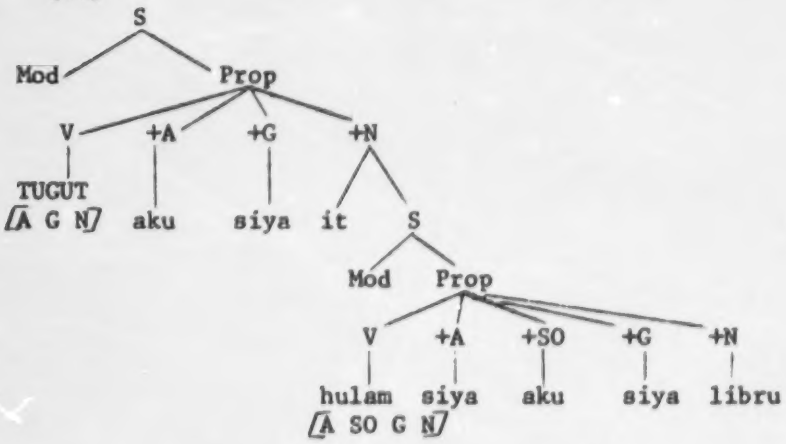
4.9 V Raising

The V in the embedded sentence is raised to the right of the V in

the higher S when the verb in the higher S is CAUSE TUGUT. This transformation consequently erases the lower S node and raises the lower actants to the higher S. The application is illustrated by the derivation of (50) below.

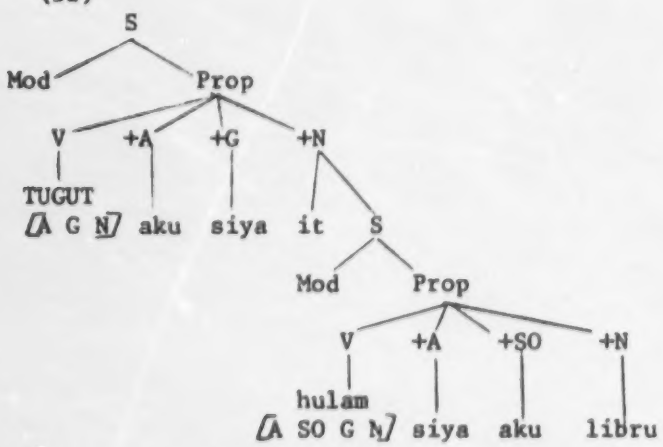
(50) gipahulam ku siya ug libru
'I lent him (allowed to borrow) a book.'

(51)



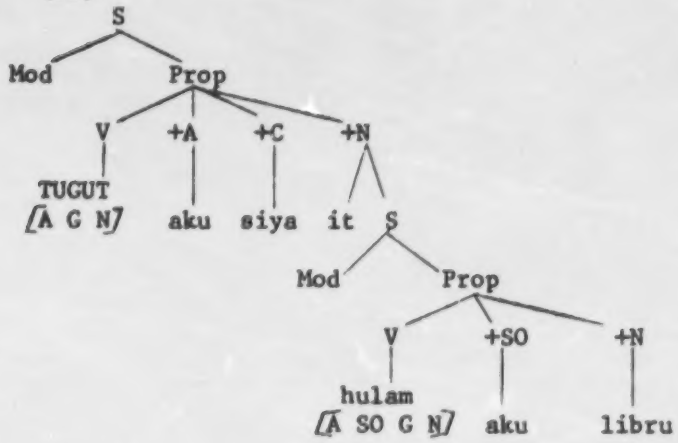
The Identical Actant Deletion applies on the lower S to delete the second occurrence of siya. The resulting tree is (52).

(52)



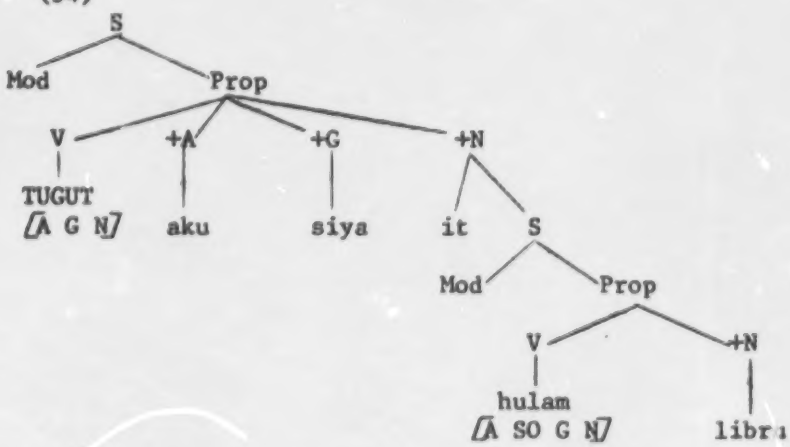
There remain two siya's in the sentence - one in the lower S and another one in the higher S. The Identical Actant Deletion Transformation applies again to delete the second occurrence of siya, i.e., the siya in the lower S. The resulting tree is (53).

(53)



The Identical Actant Deletion has to apply once more to delete the second occurrence of aku in the sentence. The tree now becomes (54).

(54)



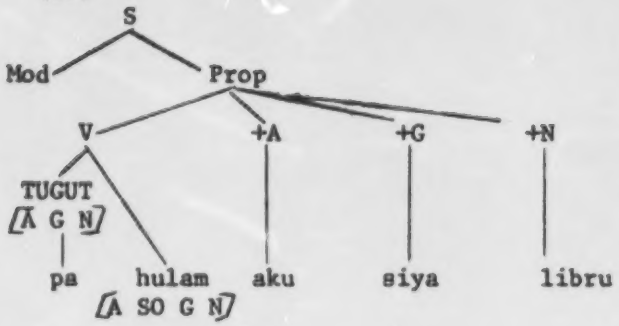
TUGUT does not come out in surface structure in order to arrive at (50). If it does, the V Raising Transformation will not operate as shown by the following sentences.

(55) gitugutan ku siya nga muhulam ug libru (kanakuq)
'I allowed him to borrow a book (from me).'

(56) nitugut aku nga muhulam siya ug libru (kanakuq)
'I allowed him to borrow a book (from me).'

The application of the V Raising Transformation on (54) results in (57).

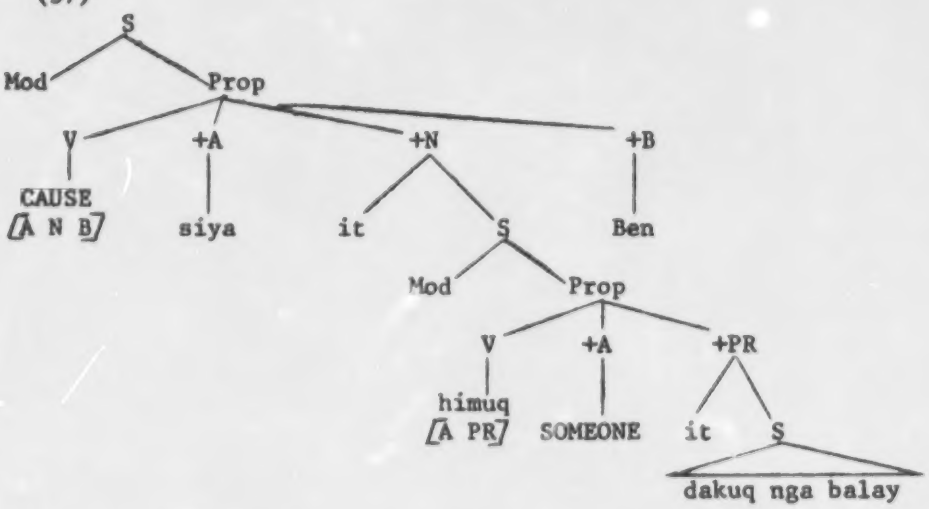
(57)



To give another illustration of the effect of the V Raising Transformation, (36) and (37) are recalled here. (37) is the deep structure of (36).

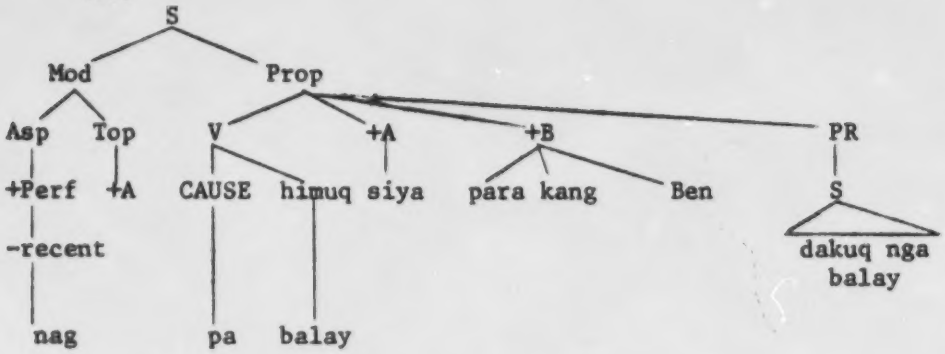
(36) nagpabalay siya ug dakung balay para kang Ben
'He had a big house made for Ben.'

(37)



After all the necessary transformations have taken place, including the V Raising Transformation, the resulting surface structure is (58).

(58)



T9 - V Raising Transformation

Raise the V of the lower S to the right of the V of the higher S when the higher V is CAUSE or TUGUT.

4.10 Plural Copying

The working model followed in this paper assumes that the noun is the initial source of the plurality transformation. This is indicated as the feature [+plural] under the noun. A copying transformation copies this feature under the V so that when the V surfaces it is inflected with maN-, in the case of non-state verbs, or with -g- in the case of a small number of state verbs. This transformation is optional for non-state verbs, obligatory for a small set of state verbs and unnecessary for the rest of the state verbs. Note the following sentences:

(59) mulakaw/manglakaw sila ugmaq
'They will leave tomorrow.'

(60) gagmay pa ang ilang manga bataq
'Their children are still small.'

(61) limpyu ang manga karsada sa Makati
'The streets in Makati are clean.'

The small set of state verbs that obligatorily take the plural copying transformation are the following:

dakuq	===> dagkuq	'big'
duqul	===> dugqul	'near'
gamay	===> gagmay	'small'
mabaw	===> magbaw	'shallow'
mubuq	===> mugbuq	'short'
lalum	===> laglum	'deep'

lapad ==> lagpad 'wide'

layuq ==> lagyuq 'far'

taqas ==> tagqas 'tall'

The following sentences illustrate the use of some of these verbs.

(62) a. dakuq ang balay
'The house is big.'

b. dagkuq ang manga balay niqanang kalyiha
'The houses on that street are big.'

(63) a. duqul sa simbahan ang amung balay
'Our house is near the church.'

b. dugqul ang manga balay sa Manila
'The houses in Manila are close to each other.'

(64) a. lapad ang karsada
'The street is wide.'

b. lagpad ug dahun ang kamuti
'The camote has wide leaves.'

(65) a. taqas ang sininaq sa babayi
The woman's dress is long.'

b. tagqas ang manga sininaq sa manga babayi karun
'Women's dresses nowadays are long.'

The verb copies the [+plural] feature from the Agentive and the Neutral actants. Verbs that require only the Agentive (i.e., other actants may be present but the Neutral is absent) copy this feature from the Agentive. Verbs that require only the Neutral, like the state verbs enumerated above, copy the feature from the Neutral. When both the Agentive and the Neutral are present, the verb copies the feature from the Neutral. Other plural actants do not affect the verb in the same way. The following sentences illustrate this.

(66) a. *mugbuq ang anak sa manga Reyes
'The child of the Reyeses are short.'

b. mugbuq ang manga anak sa manga Reyes
'The children of the Reyeses are short.'

(67) a. *gipangaqun namuq ang usa ka saging
'We ate the (one) banana.'

b. gipangaqun namuq ang (manga) saging sa lamisa
'We ate the bananas on the table.'

c. gitabangan namug kaqun ang usa ka buquk saging (tabang 'help')
'We all helped in eating the (one) banana.'

T10 - Plural Copying Transformation

Copy [+plural] feature of A onto the V node when the V has the case frame [A] , and of N when the V has the case frame [N] or [A N].

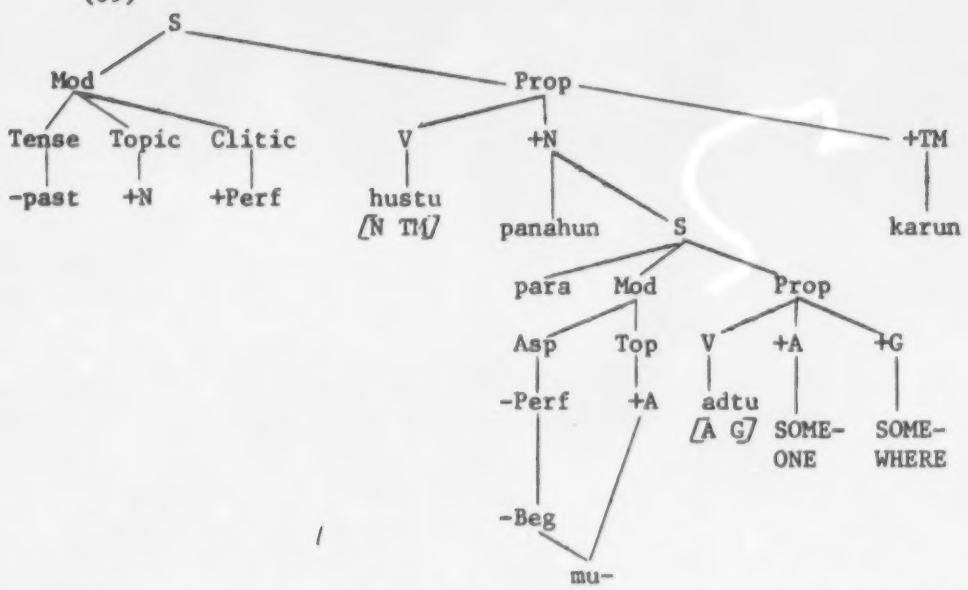
4.11 Some Problems in Transformations

In 4.4 a problem was brought up concerning the deletion of the Experiential actant in the underlying structure of the surface string of sentences like maqayung ihilak and other sentences of the same structure. At this point it is not yet clear to the writer why the deletion takes place.

Another problem concerning transformations in Cebuano has to do with the analysis of (68), whose underlying structure is presented in (69).

(68) hustu nang iqadtu karun
'It is time to go.'

(69)



The underlying structure reads

(70) hustu na ang panahun para muqadtu si X sa Y
Literally: 'Right is the time for X to go to Y.'

X and Y (or SOMEONE and SOMEWHERE) of the embedded S are deleted by the Unspecified Actant Deletion Transformation. The presence of hustu (like maqayu) invalidates the choice of mu- and dictates the choice of i- instead as the prefix for the lower V. This leaves one problem: How does panahun get deleted? In other words, what conditions exist to motivate the deletion of panahun?

One possibility that may be offered as an explanation of this phenomenon is that since panahun 'time' is implicitly contained in the meaning of hustu this implied panahun is responsible for the deletion of the explicit occurrence of panahun. This means the panahun contained in hustu deleted the panahun under +N.

The two problems discussed in this section, i.e., the deletion of the Experiential in 4.4 and the deletion of panahun in (69), have to be accounted for more satisfactorily in a complete syntax of Cebuano. What are offered in this paper are just possible solutions inasmuch as these problems are more syntactic than morphological.

5. Other Problems

5.1 Problems in the Specialization Rule

The specialization rule is not a fool-proof rule. The following inconsistencies were discovered with regards to this rule when applied to some verbs.

A. Verbs which belong to the same semantic domain and which affect the N or E in the same manner take different affixes.

-un (DA)		=an (IAF)	
kusiq	'pinch'	lambus	'strike with something heavy'
latigu	'whip'	bunal	'strike with a club or whip'
tahiq	'sew'	sursi	'darn'
dispuga	'sew a hem'	tapak	'patch'
sunug	'burn'	daqub	'set on fire'
plansa (with underlying verb gamit 'iron, press clothes'		pasa	'press unlaundered clothes'
tiwas	'finish'	tiwas	'give the finishing blow'
lutuq	'cook'	lapwa	'blanch'
		lataq	'boil until tender'
gutum	'be hungry'	kuyaw	'feel scared, frightened'
		kuyap	'faint'
halug	'embrace, hug'	haluk	'kiss'

B. DA and IAF specializations are neutralized in the free alternation of -un and -an in the following verbs:

abli	'open'
amuma	'take care of someone'
balik	'return for something'

bulit	'cover completely with viscious material'
buslut	'make a hole'
hinumdum	'remember'
kapun	'castrate'
lakad	'step over something'
masahi	'massage'
simhut	'smell'
sunud	'follow'
taguq	'hide, put away'
ukab	'open'
witik	'strike something with a flicking motion'

C. DA, IAF and P are neutralized in the free choice of -un, -an or i-.

sira	'close something, especially a window or door; cease to operate'

D. DA and P are neutralized in the free alternation of -un and i-.

andam	'prepare something'
anud	'for something to be carried away by water current'
balhin	'move something'
bilakaq	'spread the legs while sitting'
dayun	'proceed to carry something out'
takqum	'close the mouth or purse the lips'
tikungkung	'curl up the legs'

The problem verbs enumerated above comprise only a small portion of the data - only 42 verbs out of the 820 verbs which take the DA, IAF or P specializations. The writer believes that the problems involved in the analysis of these verbs are not too significant to influence the method or the results of the analysis. Ballard (1974) also met this same problem - some of the 300 verbs he worked on did not fit the classification scheme which he developed. However, the writer believes that there may exist other features that constrain these verbs to behave in the manner that they do.

The verbs listed above are marked (ID) in the lexicon that accompanies the full study, to indicate that they present discrepancies in their morphology and their semantics.

4.2 The Experiential Case

The Experiential case was one of the cases posited last in the course of the analysis. The reason was that there did not seem to be any need for it since its functions seemed to be handled very well by the Neutral case. However, instances were found where there would be two N's in one sentence; in the Fillmorean doctrine no second occurrence of a single case is allowed in the same simplex (Fillmore 1968: 22). This doctrine prohibits AC_1 and AC_2 from belonging to the same case.

(1) nasukuq siya (AC_1) sa manga binatunan (AC_2)
'She is/was angry with the maids.'

AC_2 is clearly N; therefore AC_1 could not be N also. It could not be Agent since it is different from AC_3 below.

(2) gikasabqan niya (AC_3) ang manga binatunan (AC_4)
'She scolded the maids.'

The verb is (2), kasabaq, is an action verb; it obligatorily requires an Agnt. The verb in (1), sukuq is a state verb; it does not require an A. If AC_1 is neither A nor N, it must be the case defined as Experiential.[1]

The Experiential case has been defined as the animate being that is affected by a psychological state or condition. Chafe defines it as 'one whose mental disposition or mental processes were affected' (Chafe 1970:145). However, these definitions leave a lot of things unanswered. Where does one draw the line between a psychological state and a non-psychological one? Or, what is a mental disposition or process and what is a non-mental one? The writer tried to devise a syntactic test to isolate the Experiential case but even this does not leave all problems out. The test sentence was: He experienced being _____ . This test eliminated such verbs as cry (whose motivation must be psychological), shout and the other action verbs. However, it admitted such verbs as beautiful and sick as well as the verbs happy, sad and frightened (the real experiential verbs). For the present, the writer is not yet satisfied with the way the Experiential case has been handled, both in this paper and in other works. This problem still needs to be pursued so that a more adequate analysis of this case may be arrived at.

NOTES

[1]This phenomenon is also found in Tagalog. Note that the following sentences do not contain surface subjects.

ang ganda nang babaqe
'How beautiful the woman is!'

ang init nang sabaw
'How hot the soup is!'

[2]This is also found in Tagalog.

kararating lang nang manga bataq
'The children have just arrived.'

kamamatay lang nang kanyang asawa
'His wife/Her husband has just died.'

[3]Abstract verbs are defined in this study as verbs which exist in the semantic consciousness of the native speaker but which is not given lexical realization in the language. Some examples of abstract verbs in Cebuano are (English is used as the metalanguage in the following examples):

BEAR (the Product case surfaces as the verb)

nanganak na ang iyang asawa
'His wife has already given birth (to a child).'

mamunga ang mangga ug daquban
'The mango tree will bear fruit if it is smudged.'

CONSIDER (only the state verb of the lower S surfaces)

gigwapahan siya sa babayi
'He considers/considered the woman beautiful.'

gilamiqan siya sa putu
'He considered the puto delicious.'

gigamyan siya sa balay
'He considers/considered the house small.'

[4]Replaceable verbs are verbs that allow themselves to be replaced in surface structure by one of their accompanying actants. Some examples are:

adtu 'go'

diq ka malangit kay kriminal ka
'You will not go to heaven because you are a criminal.'

nipaDumaguete siya kagahapon
'He left for Dumaguete yesterday.'

aplay 'apply something to something'

nagplurwaks ku kagahapon
'I waxed the floor yesterday.'

butang 'add something to something'

gikalamayan ku na ang imung kapi
'I already put sugar in your coffee.'

bitsini ang tinula
'Put the vetsin in the tinola.'

dulaq 'play'

magbowling sila kada Sabado
'They go bowling every Saturday.'

nagbasketball ang manga lalaki
'The boys are/were playing basketball.'

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THE LIMITING GLOTTAL INFIX IN KANKANAEY

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In the Kankanaey language of northern Benguet, Philippines, glottal stops sometimes occur in the affixed forms of roots where no glottal normally occurs. Some of these glottals have been traced to variant roots, and others are the result of complex morphophonemic rules[1], but many have proven to be part of limiting morphemes which incorporate a glottal-stop infix.

The following chart shows how each of these morphemes places a limit of some kind on the meaning of the root. I owe many thanks to Dr. Austin Hale for his help and insight in setting up this chart.

Following the chart are descriptions and examples of each of the ten morphemes noted thus far that incorporates a glottal infix.

LIMITS ON	HEADS			
	QUANTIFIER/ NUMERAL	NOUN	KIN TERM	VERB
Reality Precision	1. ma-...-?- "about"	2. -CVC-*..-?- "pretend"	2.	2.
Permanence			3. -?- "at one time, in one instance"	
Quantity	4. sa-...-?- "at one time, together" 5. sa-...-?-...-en "do at one time, together" 6. -CVC-...-?- "only" 7. -CVC-...-?-...-en "increase to; do only, exactly"		6.	

*-CVC- represents the infixation of $C_1V_1C_2$ after C_2 of the root, often described as "reduplication".

(chart continued next page)

LIMITS ON	HEADS			
	QUALIFIER/ NUMERAL	NOUN	KIN TERM	VERB
Plurality			8. -?- "Plural, of one side of a reciprocal relationship" 9. -?- "plural, possessed"	
Value/ Quality		10. -CVC-...-?- "worthless, pitiful"		

In the examples that follow, the root and its meaning are given in parentheses before the affixed form.

1. ma-...-?- with a quantifier or numeral means "about". The glottal is infixed after the first oral consonant of the root. (The glottal stop which is represented in paragraph headings as -?- is represented in examples as a hyphen, - .)

(dowa "two")	mad-owa	"about two"
(tolo "three")	mat-olo	"about three"
(opat "four")	maop-at	"about four"

2. -CVC-...-?- with nouns, kin terms and verbs means "pretend, make-believe". The glottal is infixed after the second consonant of the root, thus is not applicable to roots with closed initial syllable. (There are no 3-consonant clusters in Kankanaey.) In such cases, the morpheme takes the shape -CVC- with the context providing the clues necessary to differentiate it from the morpheme -CVC-, "continuing action".

When applied to verb roots, only the actor-focus affixes man- and mang- have been observed in combination with this morpheme. In these cases, the adjunct kano, "reportedly, they say, supposedly", is often included in the sentence.

(kapi "coffee")	kapkap-ik	"my pretend coffee beans"
(bado "clothes")	badbad-o da	"their make-believe clothes"
(banga "pot")	bangbang-ak	"my play cookware"
(anak "child")	an-an-ak ko na	"this is my 'baby'"
(ina "mother")	in-in-am sak-en	"I'll be your 'mother'"

(beey "house")	Manbebbe-ey tako kano.	"Let's play house."
(kan "eat")	Mangmang-an kano.	"He's pretending to eat."
(kabayo "horse")	mankabkab-ayo	"to gallop about on a stick"
(kantina "store")	Mankankantina tako kano.	"Let's play store."

3. -?- with affixed verb roots means "in one instance, at one time". Only these three examples have been noted, and two of them are irregular forms.

(ngadan "name")	Inngad-an kos Dolinta.	"I said Dolinta's name."
	cf. Say inngadan ko, si Dolinta.	"That's what I named her--Dolinta."
(iso "same")	Is-om kod mo man-iso.	"Compare them please to see if they are the same."
(sigaan "dislike")	Sigsig-anana din balat.	"He refuses/does not want the banana."
	cf. Sigaana di balat.	"He dislikes bananas."

4. sa-...-?- with a quantifier or numeral means "a certain quantity apiece, or at a time". The glottal is infixed after the second consonant of the root, and this morpheme only applies to glottal-initial roots. With other roots, this morpheme takes the shape saC_1i- with V_1 deletion. This morpheme is only used with the lower numbers, generally no higher than seven.

(esa "one")	saes-a	"one each"
(atik "a little")	saat-ik	"a little bit apiece"
(dowa "two")	sadidwa	"two at a time"

5. sa-...-?-...-en with a quantifier or numeral means "to do a certain quantity at one time, or together". It is the verbalized form of #4 above and observes the same restrictions.

(esa "one")	saes-aen	"do one at a time, give one each"
(opat "four")	saop-aten	"do four at a time, give four each"
(tolo "three")	satitloen	"do three at a time, give three each"

6. -CVC-...-?- with a quantifier, numeral or kin term means "only". The glottal is infixed after the second consonant.

(esa "one")	es-es-a	"only one"
(dowa "two")	doddo-a	"only two"
(tolo "three")	toltol-o	"only three"
(anak "child")	an-an-ak	"only child"
(iyogtan "younger sibling")	iy-iy-ogtan	"only younger sibling"

7. -CVC-...-?-...-en with a numeral means "to increase to" when counting upwards one-by-one in limited situations. More often it means "to do only or exactly a certain quantity." The glottal is infixed after the second consonant of the root. In contrast to #4 and #5 above, only oral-consonant-initial roots use this form, while with

glottal-initial roots, the morpheme takes the shape -CVC-...-en.

(dowa "two")	doddo-aen	"make it exactly two"
(lima "five")	limlim-aen	"make it just five"
(enem "six")	en-enemen	"make it just six"

8. -?- with a kin term affixed for reciprocity (si/sin-) indicates plurality of only one side of the relationship. The glottal is infixed after the second consonant of the root.

(sin-ina "mother and child")	siin-a	"mother and her children"
(sin-agi "pair of siblings")	siag-i	"a person and all his siblings"

To indicate that there are many reciprocal-kin groups, many of which probably having more than two members, both this -?- and the -CV-, "plural" morphemes are used.

(iina "mothers")	sin-iin-a	"mothers with their children"
(aagi "siblings/ cousins")	sin-aag-i	"people with their relatives"

An interesting note: sin-asawa, "married couple", is pluralized as sin-as-awa since plurality of one side implies plurality of the other.

9. -?- with a kin term indicates plurality of possessed kin. The glottal is infixed after the second consonant of the root.

(ina "mother")	in-ak	"my mother and aunts"
(anak "child")	an-ak ko	"my children"
(agi "sibling/cousin")	ag-im	"your siblings/cousins"

10. -CVC-...-?- with nouns can also mean "worthless, pitiful, despised". (cf. #2 and #6) The glottal is infixed after the second consonant, and in cases of roots with closed initial syllable, the morpheme takes the shape -CVC-.

(kapi "coffee")	kapkap-ik	"my few little coffee beans"
(bado "clothes")	badbad-o da	"their few miserable rags"
(banga "pot")	bangbang-ak	"my stupid old pots"

FOOTNOTE

[1]Lawrence Allen. 1977. Reduplication and Cyclical Rule Ordering in Kankanaey Morphophonemics. Studies in Philippine Linguistics, Volume 1, Number 2. Linguistic Society of the Philippines, Summer Institute of Linguistics.

A PILOT STUDY ON THE DIALECTS OF PHILIPPINE CREOLE SPANISH

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I. Introduction

Working on the assumption that there are variants or dialects of Philippine Creole Spanish (PCS), a pilot study was made of observable correspondences and differences between a word-list of Cotabato Chabacano (Ct) and three others, namely, Cavite Chabacano (Cv), Ternate Chabacano (Tr), and Zamboanga Chabacano (Zm).

A proposed list of 100 Ct. words which was later reduced to 91 after eliminating synonyms, was drawn up. The words fall under five general categories with reference to an adapted HRAF outline which was earlier prepared for the pilot project. Data gathering was done through field informant work.

The result of the study showed that while there are observable differences in certain language features between and among the four variants, they are nonetheless, mutually intelligible with each other even among native speakers who do not have any special language training. Thus, for the purpose of the pilot study, all four variants were identified as dialects of PCS.

Of the 91 Ct words, 56 were found to be perfect cognates of the 3 other variants. They were found to be similar in both form and meaning. Fifty-five words had observable differences in varying degrees: phonological and/or in the use of either Philippine or Spanish sources in their lexicon.

II. General Observations

What follows is a notation of general observations resulting from the study. It is divided into three parts:

1. Observable phonological differences
2. Observable vocabulary differences on the basis of language source: Philippine and Spanish
3. Other comments

1. Observable phonological differences
   a. Where the Ct, Cv and Zm variants have word-final /-o/, Tr tends to use /-u/.

Ct,Cv,Zm	APELLIDO /qapeɬIdoh/	Tr	APELLIDU /qapeɬIduq/	'family name'
Ct,Cv,Zm	LOLO /lOloq/	Tr	LOLU /lOluq/	'grandfather'

Ct,Cv,Zm	MYEDO	Tr	MYEDU	'fear'
	/myEdoh/		/myEduq/	

B. Where Ct and Zm have /-r-/, Cv and Tr have /-l/.

Ct,Zm	GORDO	Cv,Tr	GOLDO	'fat'
	/gOrdoh/		/gOlduh/	/gOlduq/
Ct,Zm	PWERKO	Cv,Tr	PWELKO	'pig'
	/pwErkoh/		/pwElkoh/	

c. Metathesis

Ct,Zm,Tr	DIRITI	/diritIh/	'to melt'
Cv	RIDITI	/riditIh/	
Ct,Cv	BIDRIYO	/bIdriyoh/	'glass splinters'
Ct,Zm	BRIDYO	/brIdyoh/	
Tr	BUBUD	/bUbud/	

d. Peculiarities of Tr

When using Philippine forms, certain changes take place among the variants

Cv	BALAKUBAK	/balakUbak/	'dandruff'
Tr	BALAKUBAG	/balakUbag/	
Ct,Cv	MUMUG	/mUmug/	'to gargle'
Tr	MUMUK	/mUmuk/	
Ct,Cv,Zm	ALKANSA	/qalkansAh/	'to reach; to overtake'
Tr	ENKANSA	/qenkansAh/	
Cv	TAGPI	/tagplq/	'patch, referred to mending'
Tr	TIGPI	/tigpIq/	

2. Observable vocabulary differences

a. When all four variants have a Spanish source word

1. One of the variants takes a Spanish source synonym

Ct,Tr,Zm	SEN	/sEn/(Sp)	'money'
Cv	KWALTA	/kwaltah/(Pil)	
Cv,Tr,Zm	PRINSIPYA	/prinsipyAh/	'to start'
Ct	EMPESA	/qempesAh/	

2. Ct and Zm tend to use the same form; Cv and Tr, differing from Ct and Zm, tend to use the same form

Ct,Zm	AGUSA	/qagusAh/	'to sharpen as pencil'
Cv	TASA	/tasAh/	
Tr	TISA	/tisAh/	
Ct,Zm	GERYA	/geryAh/ /gehryAh/	'to hurl'
Cv,Tr	TIRA	/tirAh/	

b. When three variants have a Spanish source word, the fourth one uses a Philippine form

1. Three out of four are perfect cognates

Cv,Tr,Zm	BERGWENSA	/bergwEnsah/(Sp)	'shame'
Ct	HUYA	/huyAq/(Pil)	
Cv,Tr,Zm	KASPAS	/kAspas/(Sp)	'dandruff'
Tr	BALAKUBAG	/balakUbag/(Pil)	
Ct,Cv,Zm	TIHERAS	/tihEras/(Sp)	'scissors'
Tr	GUNTING	/guntIŋ/	

2. Ct and Zm tend to use the same forms; Cv and Tr each take different forms

Ct,Zm	ILO	/qIloh/(Sp)	'thread'
Cv	ALGODON	/qalgodOn/(Sp)	
Tr	PANAHI	/panahIq/(Pil)	

3. All three variants are perfect cognates; the fourth takes on two forms, one Spanish and the other a Philippine form.

Ct,Cv,Zm	UPUS	/qupUs/(Pil)	'cigaret butt'
Tr	TITIS	/tItis/(Pil)	
	LABYEHA	/labyEhah/(Sp)	

c. When three variants take on a Philippine form, the fourth uses a Spanish source word.

Ct,Cv,Tr	KULA	/kulAh/(Pil)	'to bleach'
Zm	EMPLASTA	/qemplastAh/(Sp)	
Ct,Cv	MUMUG	/mUmug/(Pil)	'to gargle'
Tr	MUMUK	/mUmuk/(Pil)	
Zm	GARGALYA	/gargalyAh/(Sp)	

d. When three variants take on a Philippine form, but are each different from the other; the fourth uses a Spanish source word.

Ct	MACHAKAW	/maČakAw/(Sp)	'crumpled'
Cv	KULUBUT	/kulubUt/(Pil)	
Tr	GUSUT	/gusUt/(Pil)	
Zm	KUMU	/kUmuq/(Pil)	

e. When all four variants use a Philippine form

1. One of the variants takes a different Philippine form

Ct,Cv,Tr	SAMPAYAN	/sampayAn/(Pil)	'clothesline'
Zm	SABLAYAN	/sablAyan/(Pil)	

2. Ct and Zm take the same form. Cv and Tr either are the same or take divergent Philippine forms.

Ct,Zm	GUMUN	/gumUn/(Pil)	'tangled hair'
Cv	GULU	/gulUq/	
Tr	LUGUM	/lUgum/	

Ct,Zm	KITIK	/kItik/	KALAM/kalAm/	'tickle'
Cv	KALITI	/kalitIq/		
Tr	KILITI	/kilitIq/		

f. When two variants use Spanish source words, the other two take on Philippine forms, but differing each from the other.

Ct	TANGKUGU	/tangkUguq/(Pil)	'nape'
Tr	BATUK	/bAtuk/(Pil)	
Cv	SELEBRO	/selEbroh/(Sp)	
Zm	OMBRURA	/qombrUrah/(Sp)	

3. Other Comments

In this study, the similarity of sound and meaning on the lexical level among the variants of PCS was considered as the evidence that they are cognates and that they come from an earlier form of speech which is assumed to be the common language ancestor of said variants. (Hockett 1958:486)

Certain patterns of the familiar processes of linguistic change have been noted among the PCS variants. The cognates among the variant dialects appear to have undergone related linguistic changes and are viewed as having descended from some common ancestral language.. (Gleason 1961:446)

From even a cursory investigation, it is plain that a very significant percentage of PCS vocabulary has Spanish as its language source. In such a case then, a few examples of the degree of cognateness are here cited:

a. When Ct has a word final /-o/, Tr has word final /-u/. It is noted too that a Tr word with a final /-u/, when in citation, usually takes on a final glottal sound /-q/.

b. When Ct and Zm have medial /-r-/, Cv and Tr tend to have medial /-l-/.

c. When Ct and Zm have Spanish source verbs with an initial /-a/, Cv and Tr tend to delete the /-a/.

Ct,Zm	ABAHA	/qabahAh/	Tr	BAHA	/bahAh/	'to go down; to descend'
Ct,Zm	APAGA	/qapagAh/	Tr	PAGA	/pagAh/	'to put out or put off flame, fire or light'

NOTE

This pilot study constitutes the Appendix B of the writer's doctoral dissertation entitled, A Composite Dictionary of Philippine Creole Spanish, submitted to the Ateneo de Manila University-Philippine Normal College Consortium. Reference to the adapted HRAF Outline is Appendix A of said dissertation.

The dissertation was concerned with placing Ct on the linguistic map of the Philippines by identifying it as a PCS dialect with a speech community of its own. The work is a unidirectional dictionary using English as its tool language, containing at least 6,000 alphabetical main entries of the Ct lexicon with corresponding run-in entries of contrastive data on the lexical level of Cv, Tr and Zm. This was accomplished through a three-fold approach, namely that of historical comparison, linguistic description, and lexicographic method.

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KANKANAEY ADJUNCTS

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0. Introduction
1. The Adjuncts in Grammatical Context
2. The Adjuncts in Semantic Context
3. Research Methods

0. INTRODUCTION

Kankanaey, spoken by some 100,000 Filipinos in the beautiful mountains of Benguet, can boast of nearly fifty adjuncts, or non-affixable semantic particles. Conversational Kankanaey is liberally spiced with these adjuncts, many of which carry subtle nuances peculiar to the context.

Twenty-one of these adjuncts have cognate forms in Ilocano[1], but their meanings are not necessarily identical to their Ilocano counterparts.

1. THE ADJUNCTS IN GRAMMATICAL CONTEXT

1.1 Clause Position

Normally, the adjuncts occur in post-predicate position.[2]

Emey ka baw.
go you surpr.

Oh, so you're going.

Inbaga da kasin ya.
said they repet. explan.

So they said it again, you see.

Ngalɔ̀d occurs clause-initially in certain contexts.

Ànggoy, kambàw, and kasìn may optionally occur in pre-predicate position. Thus, Kasin dan inbaga ya.
repet. they said explain.

So they said it again, you see.

When occurring in pre-predicate position, kasìn attracts pronouns and some adjuncts from their post-predicate slots into a pre-predicate position immediately following the adjunct. Kambàw, the pre-predicate counterpart of baw, does not attract pronouns but does attract some adjuncts.

Other elements that attract adjuncts to a pre-predicate position are negatives and certain adverb-like words. The following chart summarizes the movement of adjuncts to a pre-predicate position, given the presence of an attracting element. Attracted adjuncts follow any attracted pronoun.

Always move	Sometimes move	Move except after kambaw	Do not move
tomet koma	anggoy	abe kitdi	a
damdama adi	dedan	et manen	ay
gamin aya	kadi	ngin et abe	en
iman baw	pay	gayam pa abe	etet
kayman kod		kano laeng	ket
loman met		kasin etay	mon
ngalod pay			ya
ngata od			yan
od baw man			
samet ngay			

The following sentences illustrate the pre-predicate movements of the adjuncts. When more than three adjuncts co-occur, they may not all be drawn to the pre-predicate position.

Kasin da gayam kayman ibaga pay ket.
repet. they explan. conces. say specif. cert.

That's right, because I tell you they will still say it again.

Kambaw kayman inmey abe.
surpr. conces. went repet.

Say, you're right, he did go too.

Adiak pay kano aben manlaba.
neg.-I specif. uncert. repet. launder

They say I won't launder any more either.

1.2 Co-occurrence With Other Adjuncts

Sentences are by no means limited to one adjunct apiece. An adjunct often occurs in conjunction with another adjunct. While it is impossible to chart the complexities of adjunct co-occurrence exhaustively, the following generalizations can be made.

Precede other Adjuncts		Follow other Adjuncts	
Always	Generally	Generally	Always
et to kay en manen	gayam man met et abe od samet	ket iman kayman kitdi aya laeng	a ay etay mon yan ya etet

Follow some adjuncts, precede others			Optional, may either precede or follow another adjunct	
pa abe	ngata	ngay	loman	adi
damdama	dedan	ngin	kano	baw
gamin	kadi	kod	anggoy	pay
tomet	laeng			

The following sentences illustrate the co-occurrence of the adjuncts.

Kasin da et abe kanon ibaga etet.
repet. they obj. uncert. say surpr.

Why, supposedly they just up and said it again!

Aw et adi pay dedan sa.
Yes emph. emph. specif. emph. that

Well yes, of course, certainly!

(upon hearing that the child went to help process sugar cane:)

"Ammom di tolong aya kayman?" "Pigpiga met kayman
you-know help surpr. conces. few obj. conces.

di tomolong ay mansimot iman adi."
ones-who-help dip-fingers conces. cert.

"Yes, and you know, don't you, how she helps?"

"Well, yes, but there are really so few to help eat it up, poor things!"
(said in sarcasm)

2. THE ADJUNCTS IN SEMANTIC CONTEXT

For purposes of discussion, the adjuncts have been classified under ten headings--repetition, surprise, emphasis, certainty, uncertainty, specification, objection, concession, explanation, and request. There is, however, considerable overlap, as in the case of ket, which indicates emphasis and certainty as well as objection.

2.1 Repetition

Four adjuncts indicate repetition. Lomân and manên simply mean "again", while kasîn and abê cover a wider range than any one English equivalent.

Lomân "again", indicates a repetition of something previous.

Adi ka loman emey, a.
neg. you repet. go emph.

Now don't you go again.

Dew-en ta koma loman.
divide we-two specif. repet.

We should divide it up again.

Manên is synonymous with loman.

Ala! Emey ka manen!
exclam. go you repet.

So! There you go again!

Balat manen. Iwed di nateng.
banana repet. none vegetable

Bananas again! No vegetables!

Kasîn can be translated "again" or "other".

Yan dooy etay ginmînek kasin ya.
and there surpr. quieted repet. explan.

And there he got quiet again.

En pay kasin ayagan Posa si Otot.
go specif. repet. call cat rat

So Cat went to call Rat again.

Laydelayden din esay nakay din kasinan nakay.
like-very-much one old-man repet.-his old-man

The one old man really likes the other old man.

Abê indicates repetition of a semantic entity between propositions. It is translatable by the English "again" and "also", depending on whether the repetition is in the subject or the predicate. When neither subject nor predicate is repeated in the second of the two propositions, abê can be translated "furthermore" or "in return". The following chart summarizes the semantic range of abê.

	Both predicates the same	Predicates different
Both subjects the same	again	also
Subjects different	also	furthermore in return

Adi ka loman emey a, tan mo emey ka, matbek abe din
neg. you repet. go emph. because if go you, pricked repet.

takkay mo.
hand your

Now don't you go again, because if you go your hand will get pricked again. (It got a sliver last time you went there.)

"Emeyak ta enak man-oto." "Enak aben man-oto."
go-I so go-I cook go-I repet. cook

"I'm going to go cook." "I'm going to cook, too."

Nan-as begas ta iotona. Kadepap kano abes esay ikan.
got rice so cook-she catch uncert. repet. one fish

She got some rice to cook, she also caught a fish.

Din dowa abe ay inga, mateweng da.
the two repet. ear deaf they

Furthermore, the two ears, they were deaf. (in an account of the physical effects of riding in an airplane)

2.2 Surprise

Three adjuncts indicate surprise at something unexpected.

Baw indicates some surprise at new information. It is used only in the first person.

Manlablaba baw adis Lola.
launder surpr. emph. Lola

Oh, I see Lola is doing the laundry!

Lawa baw di.
bad surpr. that

That's not very good. (upon tasting a new mixture)

Man-od-odan baw ed Vizcaya sin bowan di November.
rains surpr. in Vizcaya in month of November

So it rains in Vizcaya during November!! (who would have thought it?)

The pre-predicate counterpart of baw is kambàw. Kambaw is also used in third-person narrative to introduce new information with a slight emphasis. In such instances it is not interchangeable with baw.

"Kambaw say iyatna di," iyat Linda.
surpr. that way-his that said Linda

"Oh, so that's how he does it," said Linda.

Gayam has two different senses. The first indicates surprise upon recollecting or realizing something that was or ought to have been previously known.

Ey, niliw-ak gayam di!
excl. forgot-I surpr. that

Oh no! I forgot it!

Sik-a gayam!
you surpr.

Oh, it's you!

Aya is a question requesting confirmation, denoting surprise.

A, balat aya di ilako da baw.
excl. banana surpr. sell they surpr.

So it's bananas they are selling, huh? (I sure thought otherwise.)

Aw aya?
yes surpr.

Is that so?

2.3 Emphasis

Varying degrees of emphasis are indicated by these six adjuncts. They are arranged in roughly increasing intensity from gentle politeness to exasperation.

A is polite, often persuasive.

"Kaman kan adi pinikpik mo?" "Pinikpik ko, a."
like you neg. patted quest. patted I emph.

"It seems like you didn't pat him...?" "I did, don't worry."

Nay emeyak, a.
here go-I emph.

I'm going, OK?

Adi ka loman emey a.
neg. you repet. go emph.

Now don't you go again.

Et is a clitic emphatic indicating suddenness or immediacy. It is sometimes used repeatedly in oral narratives to lend vividness to the account as a whole.

"Emey kaet ta adi ka kaladaw."
go you-emph. so neg.you late

"Go on now so you won't be late."

"Anggayet ay mambalinaket si kaag."
already-emph. turn-into-I-emph.monkey

"I'm already turning into a monkey."

En takoet!
go we-emph.

Come on! Let's go!

Adî can be translated 'really, truly'. It should not be confused with adi "negative".

Ay adi enak manmarkit?
quest. emph. go-I market

Shall I really go to market?

Emey kayo adi, baken kayon mantee sin danan.
go you emph. neg. you stay on trail

Really go now, don't just linger on the way.

Ipayag mo din kaiw! Tan say pangatan aso en sik-a adi!
put-down you wood because that make-bite dog you emph.

Put the stick down! That will make the dog bite you for sure!

Dedàn implies common knowledge, something obvious or already known, thus "of course".

"Awem di; siya dedan ay kosto av panbilin si anak."
agree-you that that emph right rule children

"Agree with that; it is, as you know, a good rule for children."

"Iniak dedan ay wada ay manlablaba," kanana.
saw-I emph. is-there laundering said-he

"I saw that she's there doing laundry!" she said. (How many times do I have to tell you?)

Opopem dedan!
cover-mouth-you emph.

Cover your mouth! You should know better! (after child sneezes)

Mon indicates definiteness on the part of the speaker and a measure of exasperation with the hearer.

Lawa mon! Adi ka en paypay-an!
bad emph. neg. you go put-in

That's bad! Don't keep on putting (dirt) in (the laundry).

"Sik-a mon din nanga. Way nangila en sik-a."
you emph. took there-is saw you

"But you certainly were the one who took it. Someone saw you."

"Manlablaba baw adis Lola." "Ay mon! Inilak dedan!"
laundering surpr. emph. Lola yes emph. saw-I emph.

"I see Lola's really doing laundry!" "Yes, for goodness sakes! I saw her, you know."

Ay is an exclamation, often very forcibly pronounced.

Lawa damdama ay!
bad obj. emph.

BAD! NO! NO!

Omali kayo ay!
come you emph.

Get yourselves over here!

Alim a, alim ay!
bring emph. bring emph.

Bring it here, OK? HEY! Bring it here!

2.4 Certainty

These five adjuncts express the speaker's confidence in the truth of his statement, with various other connotations.

Od stresses the truth of a statement.

"Kaman kan adi pinikpik mo?" "Pinikpik ko od."
like you neg. patted quest. patted I cert.

"Seems like you didn't pat him?" "I really did pat him."

Lawa od. Adi ka kitkitingen.
bad cert. neg. you pinch

That's really bad. Don't pinch her!

Yan doy daddaan dadi....ay daddaan od di?
and there unripe they quest. unripe cert. that

And there they're not ripe...are they indeed unripe?

Ket emphasizes the certainty the speaker feels, often in objection to another's uncertainty. The semantic adjunct ket should not be confused with its homonyms, especially the one that ends an introductory phrase.

"Annoka baw kano adi." "Aw ket, dinngek pay dedan sa."
whatsit surpr. uncert. emph. yes cert. heard-I specif. emph. that

"Why, they say such-and-such..." "Yes indeed, I already heard that you know."

"En ka kod dawen kasin." ... "Awed ket!"
go you req. check repet. none cert.

"Please go check again." (goes & returns) "It's absolutely not there!"

"Sinoy ngadan di lako das di?" "Balat ket."
what name sell they there banana cert.

"What are they selling there?" "Bananas."

Ngalla indicates the sincerity of the speaker. It has a variant, galod.

"Omali ka ngalod!"
come you cert.

"You come here!" (I really mean it this time.)

Tan sis-iya galod di en nanga asina pay eggasan.
because he cert. go get then specif. drop

Because really, he was the one to go get it and then drop it.

Kadi tries to convince the hearer that something is true, often in contrast to the preceding statement. It can be translated "please" when the speaker is trying to convince someone of the desirability of something's being done.

Lawa kadi si Dollika. Kinitingna din takkay mo.
bad cert. Dollika pinched-she hand your

Oh that Dollika's really bad. She pinched your hand. (to sympathize with crying child.)

"Sinoy ngadan nina?" "Balat...aga, lokto kadi."
what name this banana neg. camote cert.

"What's this?" "Bananas...(joke)...no, not really, it's camote."

Pikpikem kadi ta maek.
pat-you cert. so sleep

Please pat him so he'll sleep.

Mo pakaanem din anan-ak, "Aw adi, pakaanem ta adi da..." kanak.
if send-out-you children yes cert. send-out-you so neg. they say-I

If you send the children out, "Yes, please, send them out so they don't..." I say.

Yan asserts first-hand knowledge and is often slightly self-defensive, reacting to an implied suspicion or doubt. It should not be confused with its homonym, which serves as a coordinating conjunction.

"Ay laton ay siged din innam ay doy?" "Siged yan."
quest. OK good got-you that good cert.

"Are those things you got good all right?" "They're good." (Did you think I'd get some bad ones?)

"Ay kindeng mo?" "Aw yan."
quest. finish you yes cert.

"Did you finish it?" "Yes." (Why do you ask?)

"Ibagaak si Julia mo laydena ya." "Laydena yan.
ask-I Julia if like-she explan. like-she cert.

Inbagana ed kaonyan."
said-she short-time-ago

"I'll ask Julia if she wants to, you see." "She does want to! She said so a little bit ago."

2.5 Uncertainty

The four adjuncts under this heading express uncertainty, some pure conjecture, others only mildly backing off from being too assertive.

Ngatà is a conjecture, a guess implying that the hearer does not know the information either. It frequently solicits a similar conjecture in response.

"Ay emey ka ngata?" "Aw ngin."
quest. go you uncert. yes uncert.

"Do you suppose you'll go?" "Yes, maybe."

"Sik-a ngata di itakina ed Manila." "Aw ngata."
you uncert. take-with-he to Manila yes uncert.

"Do you suppose you'll be the one he'll take to Manila?" "Maybe so, do you think?"

Sàmet indicates a reservation or uncertainty in the speaker's mind regarding his expressed opinion. If the word preceding samet ends in a vowel, -n is suffixed to it.

Yay, sino di matektekdag, balankas samet di.
excl. what falling pomelo uncert.that

Hay, what's that falling? Maybe pomelos.

Sik-an samet ay Matek di nangikaw-it.
you uncert. Leech hung-up

Perhaps you, Leech, were the one who hung it up.

Ay siya di ono baken? Baken samet di.
quest. that that or neg. neg. uncert.that

Is that it or not? Maybe it's not.

Ngin is synonymous with samet.

"Ay inmey ngatas Patricia?" "Aw ngin."
quest. went uncert. Patricia yes uncert.

"Do you suppose Patricia went?" "Maybe so."

"Yan sana ay emey ka et abe? Into ngin di mangi-baga
and there go you obj. where uncert. one-who-will-say

sin sana ay laydem ay ibaga?"
that want-you say

"And are you leaving? Where perhaps is the one who will say what you were wanting to say?"

Kanð means "reportedly" and implies that the speaker disavows responsibility for the truthfulness of the statement.

Man-abat kanos da gayang en kiling issan sebang di kaong.
meet uncert. they crow and kiling-bird on trail of sow

Once upon a time a crow and kiling-bird met on a sow trail.

"Ay dinmateng din auditor?" "Maga, emey kayo kanos bigat."
quest. arrived auditor neg. go you uncert. tomorrow

"Did the auditor arrive?" "No, they said you're to go tomorrow."

Nabbakes kano et sigaan day makiskisan ed idi.
old-woman uncert. dislike they husked in past

They say the old women didn't like it husked in the old days.

2.6 Specification

These six adjuncts indicate some sort of specification about the subject. Two, to and en, are temporal.

To indicates future time. It requires a preceding vowel to be closed with -n.

"Egyatam aso da tan kailabos dan sik-an to pay."
afraid-of dog their because make-naked they you spec.

"You'll be afraid of their dogs because they'll rip your clothes off!"

"Kaipaskadak to pay!"
step-suddenly-I specif. and-then

"Then I'll just step over them!"

En "now, already" is a clitic indicating present time.

Ay en taen?
quest. go dual-specif.

Shall we go now?

Ngem ed nman pay ay nabbayagen nanbalin si bato.
bud now contrast long-time-spec. changed to stone

But now that it's been a long time already, she has turned to stone.

Awan a, pinmadtoken.
neg. emph. jumped-specif.

Too late, it already jumped. (a flea)

Pay indicates a continuation of a previous state or action, thus "still" or "yet". It also is used in contrasting one thing with another, "as for ____". It further functions on the discourse level in advancing the plot, "thereupon".

Wada da pay.
there-is they specif.

They are still there.

Adi da pay inobla din kanan di nakay en oblaen da.
neg. they specif. worked said old-man work they

They had not yet done the work that the old man had told them to do.

"Mantetee kayo a, tan nay emey kami." "Aw pay, tan beey
stay you emph. because here go we yes specif. because house

mi na."
ours this

"You stay here, OK, because we're going now." "Yes, of course, because this is our house."

Mo si Bacona pay en nan-iskowila.
if Bacona contr. go go-to-school

As for Bacona, he went to school.

Idi kaila pay da baka en nowang sin ap-apo da ay nakay yan
when see advance they cow and carabao boss they old-man and

doyet ay legmen day pidit sin bado da.
there hurry they pick-up clothes they

When the cow and carabao saw their master the old man, they hurriedly picked up their clothes.

Ànggoy specifies a limitation, "only".

Tolo kami anggoy.
three we specif.

There are just three of us.

Manpaspasyalak anggoy.
visit-I specif.

I'm just visiting.
"Piga sa?" "Pisos anggoy."
how-much that peso specif.

"How much is that?" "Just a peso."

Làeng occurs only in combination with met and pay. It generally means "the same, unchanged." Met làeng means "also, as well". Pay làeng means "still, yet" in a stronger degree than pay alone.

Ammok met laeng ay mangiamag.
know-I specif. do

I know how to do it too.

Kaji man ta iamag mo et lawa; baken siged din solit ay nay ay
predict so fix you and bad neg. good long-time this

amag, baken siged met laeng din iamag mo.
made neg. good specif. fix you

I'll bet it'll be no good if you fix it; it was no good the way it was made in the first place, and neither will it be good if you fix it.

En manakati si kanen din baka ya nowang met laeng.
go get-fodder eat cow and carabao specif.

He went to get fodder for the cow and for the carabao as well.

Ay et wada met laeng ay dinmateng din auditor?
quest. there-is specif. arrived auditor

And has the auditor arrived as expected?

Adi ka pay laeng ammo di.
neg. you specif. know that

You don't know that yet.

Katampok si Posa en Otot, asiet makiibaw pay laeng si Otot.
suddenly-hit Cat Rat then fight-with specif. Rat

Cat up and hit Rat, upon which Rat fought right back.

Koma means "should, ought, hopefully". Used with the past tense it means "contrary to fact" with or without the notion of "ought".

Laydem koma ay makikan mon sana etay emey ka.
like-you specif. eat-with but there obj. go you

You should want to eat with us, but there you go leaving.

"Aw, mon!" kanak ta iginekna koma.
yes emph. say-I so be-quiet-he specif.

"Yes, yes, yes," I say so he'll hopefully hush up.

Pinikpik ko koma ta naek baw, ta asiak inmali.
patted I specif. so slept surpr.so then-I came

I see I should have patted him to sleep, then come here.

Mo pinati da koma din initdok, patien da abe din itdo yo.
if believed they specif. taught-I believe they repet. teach you

If they have believed my teaching (but they haven't) they will also believe your teaching, i.e. They will not believe.

2.7 Objection

Five adjuncts express the speaker's objection to or displeasure with a

statement, implication or situation. They are arranged here in more or less increasing intensity.

Etày indicates mild displeasure or surprise and is often used with a demonstrative. In a command, etay exerts a gentle pressure.

Emeyak koma ngem nay etay ad-adoy amagek ay mansolatak.
go-I specif. but here obj. much do-I write-I

I ought to go, but here I have so much writing to do.

Laydem koma ay makikan mon sana etay emey ka.
like-you specif. eat-with but there obj. go you

You should want to eat with us but there you go leaving.

Naladaw kami ay binmangon en Mr. Guerzon, isonga doy etay owat kamin
late we get-up Mr. Guerzon so there obj. just we

kapoknad sin mokat mi.
wipe eye-excretions we

Mr. Guerzon and I were late in rising, so there we were just wiping the sleep from our eyes.

May etay, emey ka.
excl. obj. go you

Come on now, you go.

Met affirms the speaker's position or opinion, usually in objection to some other statement, either expressed or implied.

"Ay emey tako?" "Nay met ay magay iyat ko ay manlablabaak."
quest. go we here obj. neg. way I launder-I

"Shall we go?" "But how can I, I'm doing the laundry."

Sinoy alaek mo naiwed met di balat mi?
what get-I if none obj. banana we

What shall I get if we have no bananas?

"Ay innam din bola?" "Iwed met!"
quest. took-you ball none obj.

"Did you take the ball?" "(I took) nothing!"

"Manlaba ka kod si bigat." "Dominggo met si bigat."
launder you req. tomorrow Sunday obj. tomorrow

"Please do the laundry tomorrow." "But tomorrow's Sunday."

Et abè indicates displeasure or objection, often in response or contrast, thus "anyway, regardless".

Way laydem ay ingalat yan sana ay emey ka et abe?
there-is like-you talk and there go you obj.

You wanted to talk about something and now you're leaving?

"Wey, maymayat badom'" "Lawlaw-a et abe."
excl. very-nice clothes-your bad obj.

"My, what a pretty blouse!" "No, it's ugly!"

Intoy nantengana? Kaman et aben nalatian, iwasit yo.
where found-he like obj. rusty discard you

Where'd he find that? Looks like it's rusty anyway, toss it.

Etèt indicates displeasure or disapproval.

Maabakak etet.
defeated-I obj.

Fooey, I'm going to lose.

Napooan etet, begew din anak.
burned obj. due-to child

Unfortunately it was burned, thanks to the child.

Dooy etet! Naikolboet!
there obj. spilled-emphas.

There now! It spilled!

No sik-a etet, ibagam.
if you obj. tell-you

If it was you (unhappy thought), confess.

Damdamà emphatically indicates disapproval or objection.

Baken damdaman pag ed kantina. En kayo mangaiw.
neg. obj. always at store go you get-wood

You don't have to be forever going to the store. Go fetch some wood!

Omdas din kali damdama; baken siyat takkay.
reach word obj. neg. necessary hand

For Pete's sake, words will suffice; fists aren't necessary.

Sik-a damdama di mangipangpango.
you obj. go-ahead

You go ahead, I insist.

2.8 Concession

These three adjuncts are used in making concessions to others, two to the hearer and one to a third party.

Kaymàn agrees with or concedes to the hearer.

"En ka alan adis awni." "Pag et kaymàn naom yan."
go you get emph. later all emph. conces.ripe cert.

"Be sure to go get those later." "Yes, they are all really ripe."

Onina kayman sina, adi innan din dagem din balat yo.
fortunate conces. here neg. took wind bananas you

Yes, you're really lucky here, the wind didn't wreck your bananas.

Yana! Yan sana kayman ay piniliam mo.
excl. and there conces. pick-out-you quest.

Wow! Sure enough you picked it all out!

Od baw is a combination of two adjuncts treated previously, meaning "truly" and "I realize with some surprise". It indicates concession after a struggle.

May, emey ka od baw.
excl. go you conces.

Oh, alright, go ahead.

Ialim ta gel-adan mi od baw.
bring-you so peel we conces.

Oh, OK, bring it here and we'll peel it after all.

Ɨman indicates concession to a third party, thus soothing, complimentary, persuasive, sympathetic.

Aw iman, lawa din am-amagem ay dooy, Wilma.
yes conces. bad doing-you that Wilma

She's right, Wilma, what you're doing there is bad. (agreeing with Wilma's mother who just scolded her)

Onina iman si Bernard--way nowangna si pansiwatana.
lucky conces. Bernard there-is carabao-his for-plowing

Bernard is sure lucky--he's got a carabao for plowing.

"Apay ngata adi da intakin anak da?" "Tan madagsen iman."
why uncert.neg.they take-along child their because heavy conces.

"Why do you suppose they didn't bring their baby along?" "Because he's really heavy."

2.9 Explanation

Five adjuncts apply to an explanation, three directly stressing a reason, one indicating self-defense, and one encouraging the hearer's sympathetic response.

Gamɨn indicates the relevant thing in a situation, often a reason.

"Bomain ka gamin."
ashamed you explan.

"It was because you were ashamed." (You wouldn't ask him when Guillabo was there, then it turned out that Guillabo was the one who could have helped you.)

Wa, sik-a gamin. Nan-aagag ka ay nankali.
excl. you explan. hurried you spoke

Well, it's your fault. You were in such a rush to speak out.

Naga gamin di kapotik, isonga kasaaak.
neg. explan. raincoat-my reason go-home-I

Because of not having my raincoat, I went right home.

Tomet pinpoints a reason, often blaming. It requires that a preceding vowel be closed with -n.

Sik-an tomet.
you explan.

It's your fault.

Komagos tomet si anoka.
busy explan. whatsit

What's-her-name is busy. (That's why her child got a flea bite all unnoticed.)

Gayam, as discussed under section 2.2, can indicate surprise. Its second meaning stresses the reason for something, generally implying that the hearer should have understood the reason without being told.

"Ay yaket adi ka alan di mo?" "Lawa gayam!"
quest. why neg. you get that bad explan.

"How come you didn't get that?" "Because it wasn't any good!"

"Apaynga nan-etba?" "Nabsog gayam!"
why spit-up full explan.

"Why did he spit up?" "He's full, obviously!"

Ngay follows an explanation, implying a bit of self-defense.

"Ay madagsen?" "Aw ngay."
quest. heavy yes explan.

"Is he heavy?" "Is he ever!"

"Pinikpik ko ngay ya adi gominek."
patted I explan. and neg. quiet-down

"I patted him, but he wouldn't quiet down."

"Ibagaam kod si Rosa." "Aw mon mo sigaana ngay, intoy iyat ko?
tell-you req. Rose Yes but if dislikes-she explan. how I

"Please tell Rosa." "OK, but if she doesn't want to (do it), then what should I do?"

"Omya ka sin lokto." "Naabos ngay."
give-me you camote used-up explan.

"Give me some camote." "Sorry, but they're all used up."

Ya encourages the hearer's sympathetic grasp of an explanation.[3] It should not be confused with its homonym, a coordinating conjunction.

Intos Julia? Ta ibagaak mo laydena ya.
where Julia so ask-I if like-she explan.

Where's Julia? Because see, I'm going to ask her if she wants to.

Inilana tan naek kami sidi ya.
saw-he because slept we there explan.

He saw it because we slept overnight there, you see.

Iyat sin sidi, iyatnas di ya, et asi da iyaat sidi.
do-like-this do-he-like-this explan. and then they do-like-this

Like this, it goes like this, see, and then they do like this.

3.10 Request

These final four adjuncts range from polite request to pleading.

Kod means "please", a polite request.

En ka kod ilan ay mo magay iyat ay man-emes.
go you req. see if neg. way bathe

Please go see if there is no way to take a bath.

Omya ka kod si esay salop.
give-me you req. one ganta

Please give me a ganta (of rice).

En tako kod manyong-aw.
go we req. look-down

Please, let's go look down (at them).

Kay is a request, emphasizing the smallness of the task or the briefness of the time required to do it.

Ipayag mo kay na sin kantina.
put-down you req. this at store

Could you drop this off at the store?

Emey ka kay sin beey da Silino. Damagem mo way karga tako.
go you req. to house Silino find-out-you if there-is shipment us

Run up to Silino's house a second. Find out if there is a shipment for us.

Sik-a kay di mangisolat tan sana ay adiak dengngen san ibagbagam.
you req. write because there neg.-I hear say-you

Would you please write that one for me, because I can't hear what you're saying.

Man is more commanding than requesting, though the pressure may be quite gentle depending on the manner of the speaker.

Mo ibaam ya sigaana, adi emey yan, "May, emey ka man," kanam.
if send-you and dislike-he neg. go and excl. go you req. say-you

If you send him and he doesn't want to, he doesn't go, you say, "Come on, you go!"

Mamati ka men!
obey you req.

You obey me! (when child disobeys)

"Ay dinngem din kinwanik ay sana?" "Aw men, laton ay dinngek."
quest. heard-you said-I that yes req. OK heard-I

"Did you hear what I said?" "Yes, I heard you perfectly well." (so be quiet and don't say it again)

Paabê is a strong request, pleading.

Omya ka paabes esay salop.
give-me you req. one ganta

Please, I beg of you, give me one ganta (of rice).

Lawa paabe ay! Komaloloya din am-amagek!
bad req. emph.become-dirty doing-I

Pleeeeease don't! My work's getting all dirty!

3. RESEARCH METHODS

The conclusiions reached in this study are based on both elicited and unelicited material.

To get natural text, the household conversation of some friends was taped, with their permission, and transcribed. Sentences with adjuncts were copied out from written narrative material. Utterances incorporating adjuncts were written in a notebook as they were overheard.

The elicited material was collected in a variety of frames,[4] six or seven in all. Each adjunct was put through every frame and a language teacher was asked to provide a context in which this might be said, and what the speaker would mean by it. The teacher proved to be very skilled in such imaginative exercises and in articulating the differences between closely related adjuncts.

To determine the combinations of the adjuncts, an assistant was asked to fill out a chart, matching each adjunct with every other one, indicating whether they could co-occur, and in what order. This chart was then matched against the unelicited text examples and any contradictions reconciled.

To determine the pre-predicate movement of the adjuncts in the presence of an attracting element, five frames were set up, each with a pronoun-attracting word. The assistant then filled out a chart indicating which

adjuncts could be included in each frame, and if so, whether it would be attracted to the pre-predicate position.

Although the present analysis takes into account every adjunct gleaned thus far from a considerable corpus of material, it can only be regarded as tentative due to the extremely complex semantic make-up of most of the adjuncts. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the semantic analysis represented here will serve as a good basis for future studies, such as social constraints regulating the use of adjuncts, semantic shifts with cognates in related languages, and the role of adjuncts in various discourse genre.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The Kankanaey adjuncts with cognate forms in Ilocano are as follows: a, aya, en, gamin, gayam, iman, kadi, kano, ket, kitdi, koma, laeng, man, manen, met, ngalod, ngata, pay, samet, to, tomet.

[2]The following abbreviations have been used as glosses for the examples in this paper:

cert.	certainty	obj.	objection
conces.	concession	quest.	question
contr.	contrast	repet.	repetition
emph.	emphasis	req.	request
excl.	exclamation	specif.	specification
explan.	explanation	surpr.	surprise
neg.	negative	uncert.	uncertainty

[3]Another use of ya has been noted in conjunction with aw "yes". Interjected in a conversation, aw ya indicates the speaker's agreement on the basis of prior knowledge and encourages the other to continue. Due to the fact that this use of ya has been observed in only one context, it has not been treated as a separate homonym.

"...et inmey ed iskowilaan." "Aw ya."
and went to school yes encouragement

"...and he went to the school." "Yes, that's right."

[4]The frames used to collect the elicited material are as follows:

Balat_____	(banana)
Aw_____	(yes)
Pinikpik ko_____	(I patted)
Emey ka_____	(go (command))
Iwed_____	(none)
Lawa_____	(no-good)
Sik-a_____	(you)

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FOCUS SHIFT AND TENSE SHIFT: HIGHLIGHTING AND CONFLICT IN LIMOS KALINGA NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

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0. INTRODUCTION

Kathleen Callow in her book, Discourse considerations in translating the Word of God, identifies four aspects of naturalness in the study of discourse structure, namely, grouping, cohesion, information structure, and prominence. The primary concern of this paper is with the aspect of prominence, and, more specifically, with the devices employed in Limos Kalinga narratives to lend prominence to particular events and relationships.[1]

Callow distinguishes among three kinds of prominence in discourse: Prominence with thematic value, Prominence with focus value, and Prominence with emphatic value. The latter is probably the easiest type to identify in discourse since it generally employs such devices as semantic particles, word order, and repetition. This value of prominence would make an interesting topic for study in itself and will not receive further comment in this paper. It should be noted here, however, that all three of the devices mentioned above are common in Limos Kalinga narrative discourse. Like other Philippine languages, Kalinga has numerous semantic particles which are used for emphasis. Word order is also used for emphasis, the front-shifting of clause constituents being especially noteworthy in this respect. Repetition is quite common as well, reduplication being a prime example.

Prominence with thematic value will likewise receive relatively little attention in this paper. The unmarked thematic signals of tense and focus do function to provide prominence with thematic value but they will be introduced only by way of contrast with the marked use of tense and focus which achieves prominence with focus value.

Callow describes prominence with focus value as "a spotlight, playing on the thematic material to bring some of it especially to the attention" (1974:60). This rather semantic usage of the term, focus, is clearly quite distinct from the morphologically based usage that has become familiar in the description of Philippine languages. Focus in the latter sense refers to a relationship that exists between the verb and a particular nounphrase within a clause. Typically the nounphrase will be morphologically marked as the focused item and will be cross referenced by affixation on the verb which identifies the relationship that exists between the focused item and the verb. It is focus in this syntactic sense that is involved in the phrase, focus shift. Focus shift in this grammatical sense, however, serves as an important device for conferring what Callow refers to as prominence with focus value upon

a particular event in the backbone of a narrative. Thus, though the two senses of the term, focus, must be distinguished, they are not at all unrelated in Limos Kalinga.

1. General Observations on Discourse in Related Languages.

This paper is by no means the first study of discourse in Kalinga related languages. Before discussing focus shift and tense shift in Limos Kalinga it is useful to discuss as background certain findings on discourse from related languages upon which this paper builds.

The most closely related dialect for which discourse studies have been published is Guininaang Kalinga. Many of the observations that Gieser makes for Guininaang Kalinga also hold true for Limos Kalinga.

Concerning person orientation, Gieser states that "Kalinga narrative discourse is either first or third person oriented." (1972:17). This is also true of narrative discourse in Limos Kalinga. In procedural discourse, however, instances of second person orientation have been found in Limos Kalinga in contrast to Guininaang for which Gieser has found only first or third person orientation (1972:17).

Concerning narrator's viewpoint, Gieser observes that in factual accounts of current events narrators may take the viewpoint of either a first person participant or that of a third person but that in legends the narrator generally assumes the viewpoint of an omniscient author, entering at will the mind of any participant and viewing events, states and participants either as a neutral narrator or subjectively through the eyes of an involved participant. Gieser's account of Guininaang seems to hold quite well for Limos in this respect.

With respect to narrative setting, however, there appears to be at least one subsystem for which Limos requires a slightly different description. Gieser states, "The narrator may reveal where he was when he related the narrative by the way he employs deictic forms, names of actual places, and certain motion verbs." (1972:17) It appears, then, that in Guininaang a narrator may optionally position himself in relation to specific places mentioned in his story.

In contrast to this, a narrator in Limos Kalinga has no choice but to position himself in relation to the specific places he refers to. This is accomplished by the use of the noun phrase marking particles or determiners which in Limos Kalinga have a deictic quality similar to that of the demonstrative pronouns.

There is a narrative form of the determiner which is simply the form of the remote reference demonstrative, di, with the narrative linker, -t. This determiner predominates in the noun phrases of a narrative except in the cases of reported speech. However, if this narrative determiner is used with locative noun phrases it indicates that the place mentioned is either fictional or no longer exists.

When referring to real and specific places, then, a narrator must switch to one of the forms of the non-narrative determiner. The most common forms are the proximate reference demonstrative, tu, with non-narrative linker, -n, to indicate that the narrator is in or near the place mentioned or the remote reference demonstrative, di, with non-narrative linker, -n, to indicate that he is not at the place referred to. This latter form, din, occurs in apparently free allomorphic variation with the forms, ud, and Ø, when used with place names.

The positioning of the narrator with respect to the places to which he refers in the narrative is not absolute. Rather, it is relative to the locations of other places referred to in the context. Thus the narrator can refer to the Saltan river as tun Saltan at one point in his story as long as the geographic location of the narrator is relatively close to the Saltan by comparison with other rivers referred to up to that point in the story. Just as soon as the events of the narrative move to a new geographic setting which includes reference to another river or stream closer to the place of narration than the Salten, the closer stream is marked with tun (for example, tun sulung Babattuwan) and from that point the Salten is referred to as sidin Saltan.

The organization of Limos Kalinga discourse, like that of Guininaang, has also been found to include orientation, coda, and body, of which only the latter is nuclear. It is also in the body of the discourse that the prominence features discussed below are most clearly seen.

Possibly the greatest contrast found between Guininaang and Linimos narrative discourse is the one which constitutes one of the chief concerns of this paper, namely, the discourse significance of the tense or aspect inflection of the verb. This is also an area of divergeance between Limos Kalinga and Bontoc. Gieser reports Reid's finding for Bontoc that "past tense forms tend to be used 'heavily in the early sentences' of the discourse, and then, after the orientation to past time has been established, nonpast forms are used in the body of the discourse. At the end of the discourse there is a reversion to past tense." (Gieser, from Longacre 1968:1.3) He then states that "In contrast to the distribution of past and nonpast forms in Bontoc narratives, however, completed and incompleted aspect forms in Kalinga narratives are interspersed throughout the discourse rather than being clustered in particular portions of it."

2. Tense and Focus in Limos Kalinga.

The system in Linimos contrasts with both of these and is virtually the reverse of that found in Bontoc. Setting and background information which is typically found in the orientation is usually in nonpast tense. Similarly, the summary information that is found in the coda is usually also in nonpast tense. The orientation and the coda are thus characterized by the heavy use of nonpast tense.

By contrast with this, events, which make up the body of the narrative, are generally reported in past tense. The use of nonpast tense in

reporting events in a narrative is therefore unexpected. Callow points out that "Sometimes a construction which normally signals theme can be used in an unexpected way so as to bring certain information into focus." (1974:63) The use of nonpast tense in the narration of events in Linimos has been found to correlate rather closely with conflict passages and points of peak tension in the plot. It seems then that its function is precisely what Callow has referred to as a device to achieve prominence with focus value.[2]

It should be noted here that Limos Kalinga is similar to Guininaang Kalinga in having certain grammatical constructions which automatically determine the tense of the verb without regard for higher level discourse functions. In Linimos, for instance, speech verbs in quotation formulae are automatically nonpast. At one time this may have been an optional choice which served to lend prominence to the quoted material that followed the quotative verb. At present, however, the choice of nonpast tense in this situation is the norm and in Callow's terms (1974:68) may lend only unmarked prominence to the construction. The choice of nonpast tense is also fairly automatic with the particle, man, which marks specific time, and with the particle, kad, which marks temporal conditions. If any prominence is achieved by the choice of nonpast in these cases, it would be considerably less than that achieved by the unexpected choice of nonpast in other narrative contexts.

Another grammatical device for achieving prominence and one which is often used in conjunction with tense shift is that of a shifting focus pattern. As has been observed by Clay Johnston (ms.), the focus relationship that obtains between an affixed verb form and a certain noun-phrase complement appears to be a thematic device in discourse. In fulfilling its thematic function it is quite normal for focus to remain primarily on one participant or participant group throughout a paragraph or section. Of course there are also lower level constraints that tend to determine the focus of the verb automatically without regard for higher level thematic considerations and in these cases the prominence value of focus choice is considerably reduced. These constraints have yet to be studied in detail for Limos Kalinga. Even if these low level constraints are ignored, however, there is a high degree of correlation between shifting focus patterns and points of tension in the plot for the narratives that have been investigated thus far.

3. Examples of Tense and Focus Shifts from Linimos Texts.

A good illustration of the use of tense shift to lend prominence in a conflict passage can be found in the first five sentences of the story of the monkey and the turtle. The text is presented below in two columns, one for events and the other for nonevents. The free translation appears in a third column in which the verbs which translate past tense events are underlined with a single line and those which translate nonpast tense events are underlined with a double line.

Allalim da Abbak kan Dogga
story of monkey and turtle

NONEVENTS	EVENTS	
1. Da dogga kan abbak plural turtle and monkey		1. The monkey and the turtle were good friends.
napiya dan mambulbulun good they companion		
2. Osan algaw one day	ummoy da nan-ay-ayaw went they visiting	2. One day they went visiting at the river.
	sidit sulung. at the stream	
3.	Indasan da dit found they the	3. They found a certain sprout of banana.
	suplang di balat. shoot of banana	
4.	Mampulpulsan da un fight they link	4. The two of them quarrelled over it.
	duwa. two	
5. Yoong gaputa but because		5. But because they were friends they carefully divided it.
mambulbulun da companion they	inam-ammaan dan pintod. carefully they divided	

As the story continues there are three other events or groups of events which are related in nonpast tense. All of these occur at points of tension in the plot, although the degree of tension is not entirely uniform. Since this is a stylistic device it will be employed with varying degrees of skill by different narrators and it may be that four uses of the same device in one narrative is excessive even for a fairly lengthy story such as the monkey and the turtle. One to three occurrences of tense shift was the range covered by other texts studied. It may also be the case that there are other factors in narrative discourse which call for a switch to nonpast tense and which have not yet been identified.

Perhaps one of the most skillful uses of this device is found in the story about the origin of rice as told by Mr. Modisto Wagsingan, a

noted raconteur in the Limos Kalinga area. In this case, tense shift is employed in conjunction with focus shift.

The complete text of this story is given below, followed by a chart of tense and focus shifts employed in the body of the discourse.

The following abbreviations are used as glosses for words in the following text:

Foc	focused determiner	Obl	oblique determiner
Gen	genitive determiner	OF	object focus
LF	locative focus	Pl	plural
Lk	link	RF	referent focus
Loc	locative determiner	SF	subject focus
NFoc	nonfocused determiner	Top	topic determiner or demonstrative

Sat laplapun dit pagoy ilumtaw uttun pita Top beginning Gen rice appear Loc earth	The beginning of the appearance of rice on this earth

by Modisto Wagsingan

1. Sasadit damdamu um tagu, maid kanu ud Top,Pl first Lk people none it is said Foc	1. The first people, it is said, did not plant rice.
immula da si pagoy. 2. Si Kabuniyan kanu, plant,past,OF they Obl rice Top Kabuniyan it is	2. Kabuniyan was the one from whom they went to get rice.
siyad ida mangal-an sit pagoy. said he,Foc go,they get,nonpast,LF Obl, specific rice	3. All people in former times went and got their rice from Kabuniyan.
3. Amina tagu kanu, utdit osan algaw ummoy all people it is said Loc,past one day go,past,SF	4. Long ago there was only skin on the rice.
da kanu alan dit kanon da kan they it is said get,nonpast,OF Foc food their Obl	5. It had no husk.
Kabuniyan. 4. Sat osan algaw kanu, abus Kabuniyan Loc,past one day it is said only	6. When the people went, Kabuniyan had them remove all the skin of the rice and it did not grow.
kanul lawa dit kupsit dit pagoy. 5. Maid kanu it is said only Foc skin Gen rice none it is	7. And when the
ud lusbak na. 6. Nu umoy kanu, said Foc husk its when go,nonpast,SF it is said	
dadit tagu, paamin kanun Foc,Pl people cause all,nonpast it is said,NFoc	

Kabuniyan un pakaan dit kupsit dit
Kabuniyan Lk cause remove,nonpast Foc skin Gen

pagoy, ot adi na kanu tumubu. 7. Ot
rice and not it it is said grow,nonpast,SF and

nu manalan kanu dat tagu, aminona
when leave,nonpast,SF it is said Foc people all,nonpast,

kanun ilan dit susulsulan
OF,he it is said, Lk look at,nonpast, OF Foc betel nut

dadit tagu.
masher Gen,Pl people

people left, he searched the betel nut crushers of the people.

8. Inggaw sin algawan inggaw pay osan tagu
there is one day there is also one person

un anduandu kanu dit kuku na. 9. Insukip
Lk long it is said Foc nail his insert,past,OF

na kanu dit simbolas un pagoy sidit kuku na.
he it is said Foc one grain Lk rice Loc nail his

10. Adin kanun Kabuniyan ud naila
not it is said,NFoc Kabuniyan Lk see,past,OF

dit nailsukip sit kukun didit lalaki.
Foc insert,past,OF Loc,specific nail Gen man

11. Dumatong kanu man dit
arrive, nonpast,SF it is said specific time Foc

lalaki sidit boloy da, immula na dit pagoy
man Loc house their plant,past,OF he Foc rice

un simbolas. 12. Tummubu kanu man
Lk one grain grew,past,SF it is said specific time

diya immula na, namunga ot liman
that,Foc plant,past,OF he fruit,past,SF and five

lugoy kanu. 13. Imbos na kanu
panicle it is said repeat,past,OF he it is said

uman immula ot umadu kanuwon
again plant,past,OF and increase,nonpast,SF it is said

dit pagoy. 14. Naiwalas kanu
already Foc rice distribute,past,stative it is

8. One day there was a man with long nails.
9. He inserted one grain of rice under his nail.
10. Kabuniyan did not see the hidden grain under the man's nail.
11. When the man got to their house, he planted the one grain of rice.
12. When what he planted grew, it bore fruit and had five heads.
13. He planted again and the rice multiplied.
14. The rice was distributed little by little.
15. The rice multiplied.
16. Kabuniyan was surprised because no one came to get rice from him.
17. But the rice they planted had husks even though

dit pagoy un sin akikit. 15. Ummadu
said Foc rice Lk one little by little increase,past,

kanuwon dit pagoy. 16. Masdaaw
SF it is said already Foc rice surprised,

kanu ut Kabuniyan ta
nonpast,stative it is said Foc Kabuniyan reason

maid imangala ud si pagoy kan siya. 17. Yoong
none go get,nonpast,SF Lk Obl rice Obl him but

sat pagoy un immula da nalusbakan
Top rice Lk plant,past,OF they have husks,past,stative

dit pagoy, un maid lusbak na kanu yoong maipanggop
Foc rice Lk none husk its it is said but because

nin ta inigga na utdit kuku ha.
maybe reason place,past,OF he Loc nail his

it had not had husks before--perhaps it was because he put it under his nail.

18. Ilan kanu man
see,nonpast,OF it is said specific time

Kabuniyan utdit isdungana tun labaw
Kabuniyan Loc,past look down,nonpast,RF Foc top

ditun pita, adu un pagoyon. 19. Nan-akaw da
Gen earth much Lk rice stole,past,SF they

gayam dadin kataguwan sidin pagoy, kanana
surprise Foc,Pl people Obl rice say,nonpast,he

kanu. 20. Gapu ta nabegut si
it is said because reason angry,past,stative Foc

Kabuniyan, inotdag na kanu dadit
Kabuniyan throw down,past,OF he it is said Foc,Pl

man-asawa un utut ta dalapun mangkan
marry,nonpast,SF Lk rat reason so that eat,nonpast,SF

da utdid pagoy. 21. Yoong nagasmok na
they Obl rice but think,past,stative he

kanu dit mangaasi utdidit kataguwan,
it is said Foc pity,nonpast,SF Obl,Pl people

inotdag na kanu pay dadit man-asawa
threw down,past,OF he it is said also Foc,Pl marry,non-

18. When Kabuniyan looked down upon the earth, he saw that there was already much rice.
19. "So those people stole some rice!" he said.
20. Because Kabuniyan was angry, he threw down a pair of rats to eat the rice.
21. But he also thought to pity the people and threw down a pair of rats to eat the rats.
22. He also threw down a pair of wild pigs to eat the rice.
23. Kabuniyan thought to pity the people and threw down a pair of dogs to eat the wild pigs.

un kusa ta dalapnu kanon
past,SF Lk cat reason in order that eat,nonpast,OF

da dadit utut. 22. Inotdag na kanu
they Foc,Pl rat threw down,past,OF he it is said

pay dadit man-asawa un laman ta dalapnu
also Foc,Pl marry,nonpast,SF Lk wild pig reason in order

mangan da utdit pagcy. 23. Nasomsomok
that eat,nonpast,SF they Obl rice think,past,

kanun Kabuniyan dit mangaasi
stative it is said,NFoc Kabuniyan Foc pity,nonpast,SF

utdadit kataguwan, inotdag na kanu dadit
Obl, Pl people throw down,past,OF he it is said Foc,Pl

man-asawa un asu ta dalapnu mangan
marry,nonpast,SF Lk dog reason in order that eat,nonpast,SF

da utdadit babuy. 24. Kadon siya dadin
they Obl,Pl wild pig so then those,Top Foc,Pl,non narrative

kakkayap un intod Kabuniyan utdadit kataguwan situn
animals Lk give,past,OF Kabuniyan Obl,Pl people Loc

labaw ditun pita.
top Gen earth

25. Mansidiyon utdit osan algaw
specific time,then,already Loc,past one day

tigammu dat kataguwan dit koon
know,nonpast,OF NFoc,Pl people Foc do,nonpast,OF

daon. 26. Mantalkon da pay ud si
they,already raise,nonpast,SF they also Lk Obl

kusa ta man-addag si utut.
cat purpose drive away,nonpast,SF Obl rat

27. Mantalakon da pay si asu ta man-addag
raise,nonpast,SF they also Obl dog purpose drive

si laman un mangan sidadit
away,nonpast,SF Obl wild pig Lk eat,nonpast,SF Obl,Pl

mula da.
plant their

24. Then those are the animals Kabuniyan gave to the people on this earth.

25. So then long ago the people already knew what to do.
26. They raised cats to drive away the rats.
27. They also raised dogs to drive away wild pigs who ate their plants.

Sentence Number	Focused Item				Tense
	Ancestors	Kabuniyan	Rice	Animals	
8					nonpast(orientation)
9			x		past
10			x		past
11			x		past
12			x		past
13			x		past
14			x		past
15			x		past
16		x			nonpast
17			x		past
18	x		x		nonpast
19	x				nonpast (quote)
20		x		x	past
21				x	past
22				x	past
23				x	past
24				x	past

Figure 1. Chart showing tense and focus shifts in 'The beginning of the appearance of rice on this earth'.

One of the features of Limos Kalinga narrative discourse that is immediately apparent from Figure 1 is the past tense orientation of the body of the narrative. Equally obvious from an inspection of the text itself would be the nonpast orientation of the introduction and coda.

Of the four sentences in the body of the narrative in which nonpast tense is employed, two instances involve constructions that normally dictate the choice of nonpast. For such constructions nonpast tense is the norm and cannot be viewed as a marked or highlighting choice. Thus, Sentence 8 introduces the body of the narrative with the existential inggaw, a verb that only very rarely occurs in past tense and Sentence 19 introduces a direct quotation with a quote formula which is equally rare as a past tense construction.

This leaves Sentences 16 and 18 as constructions which in and of themselves could just as well be past as nonpast, and which in this environment are expected to appear in past tense. The shift to nonpast for these sentences represents an unexpected or marked choice, one that is used to lend special prominence to the events referred to. The fact that these sentences coincide with the onset of peak tension in the plot adds weight to this claim. The prominence afforded by nonpast

tense in Sentence 16 highlights a participant reaction which motivates the event in Sentence 18. The event in Sentence 18 precipitates the reaction from Kabuniyan that motivates much of the rest of the narrative. Both occur at points that foreshadow pivotal plot-related events.

Strictly speaking, Sentence 16 is portrayal of a participant reaction rather than an event. That such participant reactions would be past tense in narrative if not highlighted is born out by a study of a wider range of Kalinga narratives. Thus highlighting of this sort is not restricted to events in narrative alone.

Also apparent from Figure 1 is the fact that tense shifting for prominence coincides with the onset of focus shift. The expected or non marked choice of focused item in a narrative relating to rice is the one consistently made in Sentence 8 through 15. The focus choices made in Sentences 16 and 18 appear to reinforce the highlighting effect of choosing nonpast forms, and they certainly coincide nicely with the elevation of Kabuniyan and the Ancestors into climactic prominence within the events that follow. Departure from the unmarked choice of focused item coincides with the onset of overt conflict. It is as if the narrator were using his choice of focus and tense forms to tell the audience, "Watch out for what comes next."

4. Conclusion

The expected norm for tense orientation in the body of the Limos Kalinga narrative is past tense and the expected norm for focus patterning is that the focus should remain constant on one participant grouping throughout a paragraph. As Callow states, "When the expected norm in fact occurs, the degree of prominence is small. However, if some unexpected element is given thematic position, then the intensity of prominence is much greater." (1974:51) There is a surprising degree of correlation in the Linimos narrative between the use of the unexpected choices in tense and focus on the one hand and the points of peak tension in the plot on the other, and it would appear that such choices constitute some of the principal devices available for achieving prominence. It appears, then, that an intelligent use of these devices could greatly enhance the communicative value of translated materials.

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FOOTNOTES

[1]The dialect of Kalinga referred to in this paper as Linimos or Limos Kalinga is spoken by approximately 5,300 people living in eight barrios along the lower Saltan river in the municipality of Pinokpok and is one of several dialects of Kalinga spoken in the province of Kalinga-Apayao in northern Luzon. The author wishes to acknowledge with thanks the comments and suggestions of Austin Hale.

[2]The idea that tense shift is related to highlighting has been noted earlier by Hazel Wrigglesworth in her work on Ilianen Manobo folktales. This phenomenon might have gone unnoticed were it not for her insights into the working of that Philippine language. After this paper was written it came to our attention that Levinsohn (1977) reported a related phenomenon in Koiné Greek. He states:

> "The present article seeks to show that, when an event is described in the present tense, it establishes the direction and gives prominence to the <u>following</u> action(s), which in turn "build upon" that event in some way (Section 1). In Mark's Gospel, this has the effect of highlighting certain episodes and themes, in what is basically a narrative presentation (Section 2)." (1977:13)

PRE-SANGIR *l, *d, *r AND ASSOCIATED PHONEMES

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Part I

The differences that have developed between Sangihé and Sangiré (otherwise known as Sangir and Sangil respectively) have made these languages particularly suggestive of processes that may account for some problematic correspondences in historical studies.

Sangihé and Sangiré reputedly had a common origin two or three hundred years ago in the Sangir Islands, Northern Sulawesi, Indonesia, where in fact the far greater proportion of the Sangihé speakers still live. The Sangiré have long since emigrated to the southeastern Philippines, where they have been followed in recent years by a small contingent (about 5000) of the Sangihé. The Sangihé have largely accepted the Christian religion and otherwise have been influenced by the more central culture of Indonesia. The Sangiré have embraced Islam and have become oriented rather toward the Philippines.

No thoroughgoing comparison of these similar but distinctive languages has yet been made. However, the present paper reports the results of an initial study that reconstructs a significant set of phonemes featuring those I am calling Pre-Sangir (PS) *l, *d, and *r.

Sounds of this general kind have long held the attention of serious students of Austronesian languages, due mainly to the unusual tendency of these sounds to interchange among themselves.[1] But in Sangihé and Sangiré it is the extent and the complexity of such interchange that is so arresting, both within and between these two languages.

To illustrate, the two lateral phonemes of Sangihé (Sh), simple (l) and retroflexed (ll), and the two comparable laterals of Sangiré (Sr) plus a zero element (l, ll, ∅) all are conditioned replacements of the original phoneme here designated PS*l (e.g. Sh 'langi' / Sr 'langi' 'sky', Sh 'béli / Sr bé'lli 'buy', Sh 'pullo / Sr 'puo 'ten'; note that citations from the two languages will always be given in this order, Sangihé followed by Sangiré). PS*l, however, is not the only phoneme giving rise to Sangihé l. A proto-phoneme which becomes l for Sangihé but for Sangiré y (e.g. bu'ala / bu'aya 'crocodile') I am calling PS*y.

But another merger involves the laterals. The phoneme PS*r, which commonly derives in Sangihé as the flap r, in Sangiré becomes ll, the same phoneme that also derives from PS*l (e.g. 'barisé' / 'ballisé' 'line up'). Thus, it is quite possible for Sangiré to neutralize a contrast retained by Sangihé between forms containing *r and *l respectively (e.g. 'barisé' 'line up', 'ballisé' 'reciprocate' /

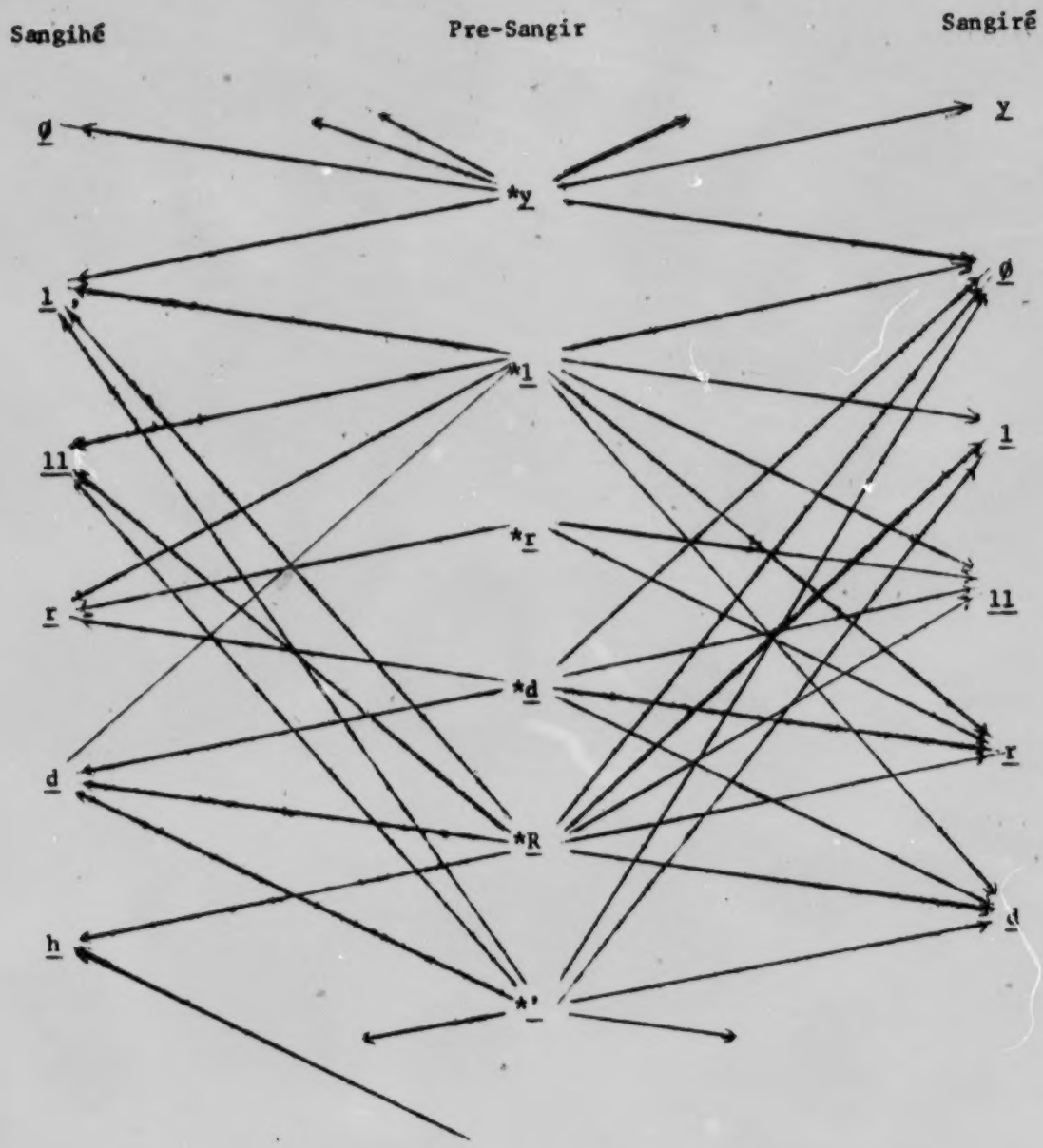
'ballisé' 'line up' and 'reciprocate'). Not only so, but in the Mindanao dialect of Sangiré (MinSr), as opposed to the Sarangani dialect (SarSr) which we have been discussing, there is no retroflexed lateral and SarSr ll regularly appears as MinSr r (e.g. SarSr 'ballisé' / MinSr 'barisé' 'line up' and 'reciprocate'). But another proto-phoneme, the PS*R, becomes the flap r in both dialects (and h in Sangihé). Therefore the Mindanao dialect undergoes a three-way neutralization of contrast between PS*r, *l, and *R (e.g. Sh 'barisé' 'line up', 'ballisé' 'reciprocate', and 'bahisé' 'salt fish' / SarSr 'ballisé' 'line up' and 'reciprocate', 'barisé' 'salt fish' / MinSr 'barisé' 'line up' and 'reciprocate' and 'salt fish').

Further, under other stateable conditions, a still different proto-phoneme, PS*d, becomes Sh r but Sr ll, while elsewhere *l becomes d, *d becomes ∅, and *R or even *' becomes l in one or both languages (secs. 2.2, 2.1, 1.1.3, 2.3 respectively).

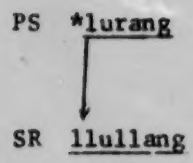
It is not my purpose at this point to confuse, but merely to underscore the complexity in these languages of the genetic relationships between phonemes of the l-d-r type. It may be appropriate to portray this interrelatedness graphically, at the same time assuring the reader that it will be the primary aim in the remainder of the paper to try to resolve the complexity and state as simply as possible the interesting conditions that occasion it. The diagram that follows indicates only the regular sound shifts of the specified phonemes, the nature and the conditions of these changes to be described later. The shifts of Mindanao Sangiré are not represented, since for want of additional data I will be forced to eliminate this dialect from further consideration.

In order to reduce the problem to more manageable proportions, we may observe certain distinctions between diachronically related morphemes characterized by Hoenigswald as "degree of phonemic affinity" (1960:48ff), noting the kinds of conditions that determine this affinity. Besides the absence of any correspondence at all, Hoenigswald cites (1) phoneme-by-phoneme correspondence, or identity of morpheme under sound change, the replacement here presumably being regular and general throughout the language (e.g. PS *lurang > Sr 'llullang 'load', where initial ll in this environment is a replacement of *l; sec. 3), (2) morphophonemically related replacement, where the affinity between replaced and replacing morphemes is mediated through an allomorph of an earlier morphophonemic process (e.g. PS *Ca- + *datu --> *dallatu > Sr 'llatu 'high chieftan', where ll is a replacement of *d; sec. 2.2), and (3) replacement via dialect borrowing, the affinity here being mediated through a borrowing from a cognate language, the indigenous form sometimes but not always being lost in the process (e.g. PAN *rantay > Magindanao rantay > Sr 'llante 'chain', where ll is a replacement of *r; indigenous form (?) 'rotay 'hemp (rope)'). These three types of replacement and their exemplification in Sangiré may be summarized in the following diagram.

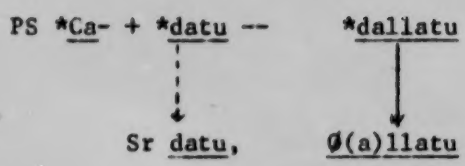
Pre-Sangir *l, *d, *r 117a



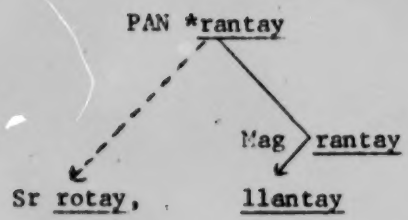
(1) Phonemic Correspondence



(2) Morphophonemic Correspondence



(3) Loan Correspondence



Note that in the third case, dialect borrowing, the correspondence illustrated is to a morpheme not of Pre-Sangir but of Proto-Austronesian. In fact, one is hard pressed to find instances of correspondence to Pre-Sangir through dialect borrowing, at least within the scope of our topic. Replacements of this type, therefore, require no treatment here. Rather, the discussion to follow is organized around just the first two types of

affinity, here redesignated direct correspondence, or that involving exclusively phonological processes, and indirect correspondence, or that implemented through morphophonemic alternations. Direct correspondence is treated herewith in Part I of this study and indirect correspondence, in Part II which will appear in the next number of this series. Both direct and indirect correspondence are dealt with here as instances of primary sound change, or change in sounds while their phonological environments remain constant. Secondary change, during which the environment also changes and in these languages exerts an assimilative influence, will be considered in a Part III of this study.

1. Direct Correspondence

In the languages before us, direct correspondence may involve either conditioned or unconditioned sound change.

1.1 Conditioned Change

The reconstructions that have undergone conditioned, or environmentally diversified change are the proto-phonemes PS *l, *y, and *d.

1.1.1 PS*l

Of these three phonemes, PS*l shows the most complex change. The rules and representative illustrations for this phoneme are presented below. (The spelling of cited forms here and throughout is explained in summary phonologies of Sangihé and Sangiré in Appendix I. Dempwolff's reconstructions for Proto-Austronesian, where known, appear in Dyen's orthography parenthesized after each example. Within his reconstructions diagonals indicate that Dempwolff has only indirect evidence for the phoneme enclosed thereby, and his parentheses indicate an optional phoneme.

(1) As the initial consonant of the word base, PS*l becomes l in both Sangihé and Sangiré (in this environment only silence or the high central vowel é can precede, all other vowels being preposed by another consonant, if only glottal stop).

'labo' / 'labo' (*labaq) 'many, much'
'laku' / 'laku' 'loose-hanging garment'
'lama' / 'lama' 'plate, dish'
'lana' / 'lana' 'oil'
'langi' / 'langi' (*laNit) 'sky'
'laudé' / 'laudé' (*lahud) 'open sea'
'lese' / 'lesé' 'wound, sore'
'lé'bing / 'lé'bing (*le(m)beN) 'grave'
'likudé' / 'likudé' (*likuD) 'back (anatomic)'
'lima / 'lima (*limah) 'hand, five'
'limasé' / 'limasé' (*limas) 'bilge water'
'lipang / 'lipang (*l'pan) 'centipede'
'liu / 'liu (*laluh) 'across'
'longi' / 'longi' 'gums'
'lua' / 'lua' 'breaking waves'
'lukadé' / 'lukadé' 'watch for'

In the following examples, the Sangiré high central vowel in base-initial position is weak and is not retained unless preposed by certain affixes (e.g. mangé'lu' 'swallow (s.t.)' but 'lu' 'Swallow!'). The Sangiré examples below are all assumed to pattern similarly, though for the second and third, prefixed forms that would verify the recoverability of initial é are not actually attested. In this group of correspondences the vowel is considered always to be the base-initial phoneme, and in Sangiré its loss when initial is handled in the morphophonemics.

'élang / é'lang 'slave'
'éli' / é'li' 'seabottom'
'élo / é'law (*a(n)daw) 'day'
'élu' / é'lu' (*luduq) 'swallow'
'élung / é'lung (*guluN) 'roll up'

(2) As the non-initial consonant of the base:
(2a) after a front vowel (i, e), PS*l becomes l in both Sangihé and Sangiré.

'baelé' / 'baelé' 'field'
'bele' / 'belé' (*belut) 'hold'
'bilang / 'bilang (*bilaN) 'count'
'biling / biling (*bilih) 'turn'
''ilang / ''ilang (*qilaN) 'lose'
''ilu / ''ilu 'poison'
'kila' / 'kila' (*kilat) 'lightening'
'lila / 'dila (*dilaq) 'tongue'
'pakelé' / 'pakelé' (paNkal?) 'heel'
'pile / 'pile (*piliq) 'choose'
'sili / 'sili (*siliq) 'defer'
'silo / 'silaw (*hilaw?) 'see'

(2b) after the high-central vowel (é), and:
(2b1) before a front vowel (i, e), PS*l becomes l in Sangihé and ll in Sangiré.

'bélisé' / bé'llisé' 'rancid'
'béli / bé'lli (*belih) 'buy'
'déli' / dé'lli' 'flame'
'déling / dé'lling 'betel leaf'
'géli' / gé'lli' ~ 'gi' (*beRay) 'give'
'péli 'taboo' / pé'lli 'incest'

(2b2) before a back or low vowel (u, o, a), PS*l becomes l in Sangihé and ∅ in Sangiré.[2]

ba'bélo / babé'aw (*babaq *a(n)daw) 'afternoon'
'béla' / bé'a' (*belaq) 'middle'
'béladé' / bé'adé' (*belaj) 'sea swell'
'délahé / dé'aré 'yard'
'délang / dé'ang 'storm cloud'
'délu' / dé'u' 'thunder'
lé'laba / lé'aba (*lawah) 'cobweb'
sé'laeng / sé'aeng 'beach'
'téla' / té'a' (*telah?) 'fly'
'télu / 'taw (*teluh) 'three'
'téluhé' / 'tauré' (*/t/eluR) 'egg'

Note that in the last two examples, the Sangiré bases have a preceding ø instead of the é which is the condition of this rule. The explanation is, of course, that there was an additional sound change--é > a under certain circumstances--following the time stage at which Rule 2b2 shows exceptionless application. More generally, none of the rules for the change of PS*l, *r, etc. can be stated in terms of the present phonologies. The fact that it is almost possible to do so attests the relative lateness of these rules, or perhaps the stability of the environments.

A more troublesome counterexample of this rule is Sr pé'lò 'put' (Sh 'pélò). There are two possible explanations: (1) the high central é is the reflex of an earlier front vowel, following which PS*l would not be lost (Rule 2a); or (2) according to Collinge's principle of "high frequency, low integration" (1970), pélò, which is the common and much-used term for 'let go!' did not participate in the change that lost PS*l in the same environment in less frequent morphemes.

(2c) after a back or low vowel (u, o, a), and:

(2c1) before a front vowel (i, e), PS*l becomes ll in both Sangihé ang Sangiré.

'balle / 'balle (*balay) 'house'
'balli' / 'balli' (*balik) 'reverse, return'
'bolleng / 'bolleng 'pull'
'bulle / 'bulle 'forget'
'dalleng / 'dalleng (*dalan 'path, way'
'dalligé' / 'dalligé' 'buttress root'
én'salli' / én'salli' (*/s/aleR) 'floor'
'palledé' / 'palledé' (*palaj) 'palm of hand'
'pulle' / 'pulle' (*pulaN) 'go home'
sa'lliu / sa'lliu 'exchange'
'talli / 'talli (*talih) 'rope'
talli'mé'do / tallimé'do 'finger'
'tulli / 'tulli (*tuli) 'ear'
'tullidé' / 'tullidé' 'straight'

In Sangihé, 'suling (Sr 'sulling, PA *suliN) 'flute', the non-retroflexed l occurs instead of the retroflexed ll that would normally be expected. The only explanation that suggests itself is that 'suling is really an unassimilated loan from Indonesian (viz. In 'suling 'flute'), as are the names of most Sangihé musical instruments.[3]

(2c2) before a non-front vowel (u, o, a, é), PS*l becomes ll in Sangihé, and ø in Sangiré (with the coalescence of adjacent vowels if similar and the loss of the first vowel if it is unstressed and the second vowel is the high central).

''alla' / ''a'~ ''aya' (*halap) 'get'
ba'lloto / ba'oto 'eel'
'ballu / 'bau (*baluh) 'widow'
bu'llaeng / bu'aeng 'gold'
'bullang / 'buang (*bulan) 'moon'
'bulludé' / 'budé' 'mountain'
'dallung / 'daung (*Dalem) 'interior'
'gallang '(brass) bracelet' / 'gang 'brass'
ko'llano / ko'ano 'king'
'malla / 'ma 'pond, swamp'
'pullo / 'puo (*puluq) 'ten'
'pullu' / 'pu' (*pulut) 'sap'
'salla / 'sa (*salaq) 'mistake'
'sollo / 'so ~'soyo (*suluq) 'lamp'
'sallu' / 'sauré' (*saluR) 'river'
'sullung / 'sung 'same'
'tallang / 'tang 'run'
tallo'ara / tav'alla 'middle'
'tolle / 'toay 'tail'
tu'allagé / tu'agé 'light'
''asallé' / ''asé' 'provided that'
bé'basallé' / bé'basé' (*baluh?) 'squash'
'kapallé' / 'kapé' 'ship'
'komollé' 'collect' / 'kumé' 'collection of sayings, lore'
'pundallé' / 'pundé' (*pundul) 'paddle'
'déngkallé' /déng'kaé' 'driftage'
'sékollé' / sé'koé' 'cough
'simbullé' /'bué' (*bukal?) 'spring of water'

The listing here of Sh 'tolle (Sr 'toay) 'tail', even though ll precedes a front rather than a back vowel, underscores the fact that these changes are not the most recent (cf. (2b2)). Actually, the final e in Sangihé represents an earlier PS*ay (which has been retained in Sr 'toay; sec. 1.1.2), and the situation at that point in the chronology is wholly consistent with the terms of this rule as stated.

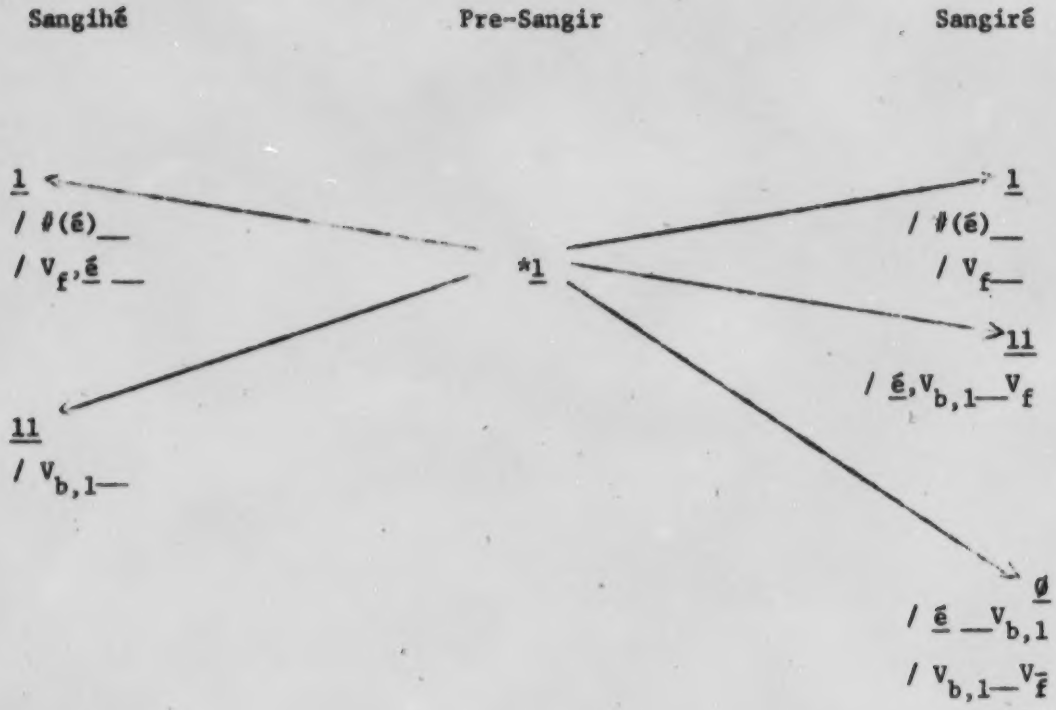
Parenthetically, attention should be called to a fact about the high central vowel that may not be evident from the above. With respect to the conditioning of the changes of PS*l, the high central (é) tends

to pattern with the front vowels in Sangihé but with the back vowels in Sangiré. Thus, following é, PS*l becomes Sangihé l just as it does following the front vowels (e.g. Sh 'téla' 'fly' and 'bilang 'count', vs. Sr. té'a' 'fly' but 'bilang 'count'), whereas PS*l following é becomes Sangiréø just as it does following the back vowels (e.g. Sr té'a' 'fly' and 'puo 'ten', vs. Sh 'téla' 'fly' but 'pullo 'ten').

But again concerning PS*l itself, I was quite puzzled at first about its development into Sr ø and ll regularly (Rules 2c and b) but also into y irregularly; e.g. ''alla' / ''a' ~ ''aya' (*halap) 'get', 'sollo / 'so ~ 'soyo (*suluq) 'lamp', and 'géli' / gélli' ~ 'gi' (undoubtedly via *géyi' with weak é lost and y coalescing with i) 'give', and, with the complete absence of a "regular" alternate, ba'lline / ba'ine (again y coalescing with i) 'other'. Then I discovered Conant's "Indonesian l" article and learned that the phenomenon that troubled me was by no means unique to Sangiré. According to Conant this phoneme, although "one of the most stable of the original consonantal sounds of Austronesia," does change or is lost altogether in some of the daughter languages. The possibilities include regular shifts to r (Sambali, Tahitian, Rapanui, and certain languages of Formosa and Borneo), d (Inibaloi, Batan, and some Malagasi dialects), either x or h under certain conditions in Batan, and q in Ilongot. And, as frequently happens in Sangiré, intervocalic l is lost in Cebuano, Sulu, Tagalog, Bontok, Kankanai, Samal, and Mandaya, and some Formosan, New Guinea and Marquesas Island languages. But more to the point, l becomes y under certain conditions in Tagalog, Bontok, Isinai, and Mandaya, as well as non-Philippine Bare'e and Palau.

Concerning the situation in Mandaya, Conant states: "Final l regularly becomes i in Mandaya... Furthermore, this tendency to palatalize l to i or y is seen even in intervocalic position where in some words l may be either lost or changed to y [italics mine], e.g. Mandaya sãup or sayup: Bisaya sálop 'set (of heavenly bodies)'" (p. 186). It would seem from this that the Sangiré alternation of ø or ll with y for PS*l is only part of a process which is much more inclusive geographically and linguistically, and whatever the explanation, it properly falls outside the scope of this study on Pre-Sangir.

To summarize sec. 1.1.1, the regular sound changes of PS*l may be displayed as in the following diagram. The symbols used in the notational representation of phoneme environments are the ones conventionally used and should be clear to the reader upon comparison of notational with discursive forms of the rules.


Sangihé
Pre-Sangir
Sangiré
l
/ #(é)__
/ V_f, é __
ll
/ V_b,l—
*l
l
/ #(é)__
/ V_f—
ll
/ é, V_b,l—V_f
ø
/ é —V_b,l
/ V_b,l—V_f

1.1.2 PS*y

Implied above is the fact that where Sh l follows back or low vowels it cannot be a reflex of PS*l; in these environments it is always a reflex of PS*y. But by virtue of the l merger of *y and *l reflexes, and also of the non-contrastive environments where these reflexes may occur, Sangihé exhibits such lateral pairs as 'dalung (PAN* Dayung) 'oar' and 'dallung (PAN*Dalem) 'interior'. Sangiré also shows lateral contrasts but not in connection with PS*y (see sec. 1.2.1).

For PS*y itself, the rules and their exemplification are quite straightforward.

(1) As the initial consonant of the base, PS*y becomes i preceded by ' in Sangihé and y in Sangiré.

'i'akang / 'yakang 'eldest sibling'
'i'upung / 'yupung 'grandparent'
'i'uta' / 'yuta' 'innumerable'

(2) As a medial consonant of the base:

(2a) after a front vowel (i, e), PS*y becomes ∅ in both Sangihé and Sangiré. 4

'bea' / 'bea' (*biyak) 'excuse oneself'
'heo' / 'reo (*hiyak) 'cry, scream'
'pia / 'pia (*pi/y/a/h) 'good'
'sie / 'sie (*hiyah) 'he, she'
'tiu'/ 'tiu' (*/h/iyup) 'blow'

(2b) after a non-front vowel (ë, a, u, o), PS*y becomes l in Sangihé and y in Sangiré.

''alo / ''ayo (*kayaw) 'raid'
bu'ala / bu'aya (*b/uq/ayah) 'crocodile'
'dala / 'daya ~'da (*Dayah) 'inland'
'dalung / 'dayung (*Dayung) 'oar'
'dulung / 'duyung (*DuyuN) 'sea cow'
'kalu / 'kayu (*kayuh) 'tree, wood'
kë'laeng / ki'yaeng 'type of bamboo'
'nalang / 'nayang ~'nang (*hayam) 'toy, play'
'palung / 'payung (*payuN) 'umbrella'
'pulu 'mad, desirous' / 'puyu 'mad' ~ 'pu 'desirous' (*puyuh)
'pulung / 'puyung 'grandchild'
'tala / 'taya ~'ta 'no'

Several forms require comment. Sr 'daya ~ 'da, 'taya ~ 'ta and 'nayang ~ nang are evidently subject to the same forces that produce ''a' ~ ''aya' and 'so ~ 'soyo from etymons with PS*l. This fact seems to confirm our conclusion in the preceding section that whatever process is at work, it is more extensive than one producing merely a y variant of ∅ from original *l or, we might add here, a ∅ variant of y from original *y. There are, in fact, several Sangiré forms for which there is not even the regular y correspondence to PS*y, but only the irregular ∅ option:

'bala / 'ba (*baya/q/) 'disregard', 'balaré' / 'badé' (*bayaD) 'pay for', 'dolohé' / 'doré' 'send person', ho'loéng / 'rung 'wet', and mahu'ala / maru'a 'maiden'. [5]

In the case of Sr ki'yaeng, the assumption that there was an original é that shifted to i before y is not hazardous, since ë is in any case a weak and readily altered vowel.[6]

(3) As the final consonant of the base:

(3a) after a high or back vowel (i, é, u, o) PS*y together with preceding *a becomes e in Sangihé and ay in Sangiré.

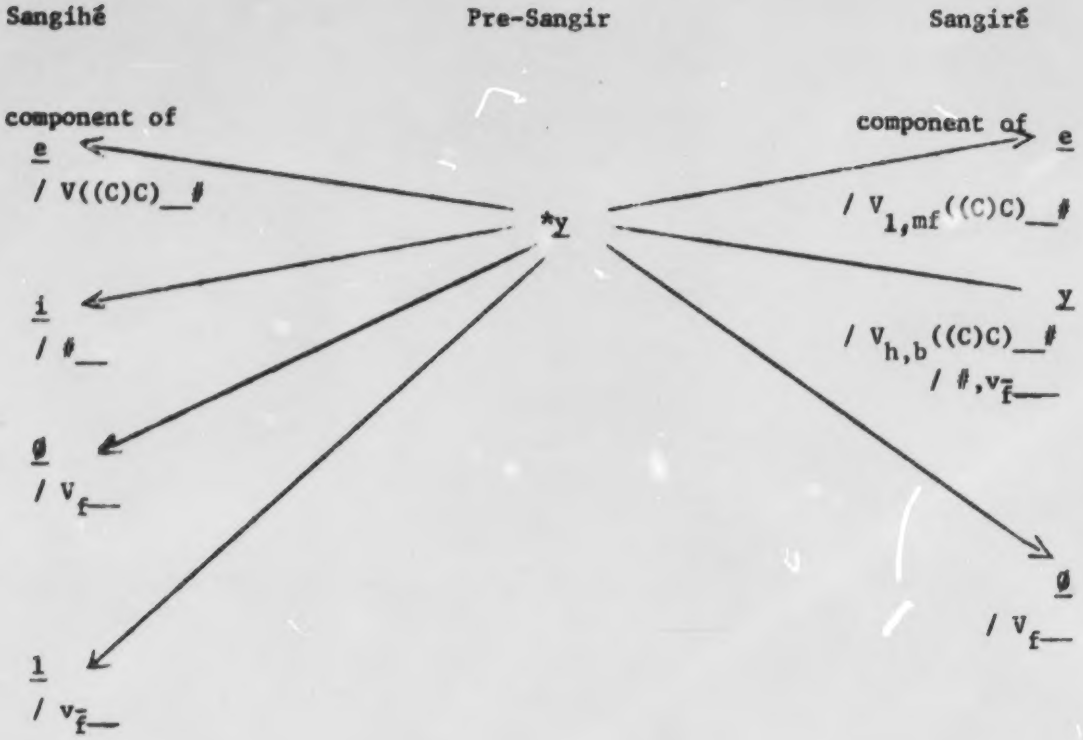
ba'bine / ba'binay (*binay) 'woman'
'hote / 'rotay 'abaca'
'lége / lë'gay (*gelih) 'laugh'
'tumbe / 'tumbay 'brink'
''ue / 'uay (*huway) 'rattan'

(3b) after a low or mid-front vowel (a, e), PS*y together with preceding *a becomes e in both Sangihé and Sangiré.

''ate / ''ate (*hatay) 'liver'
'balle / 'balle (*balay) 'house'
'hengke / 'bengke (*laNkay) 'lift'
'lente / 'lente (*lantay) 'cross (flooring)'
'pande / 'pande (*panday) 'able person'
'sake / 'sake (*sakay) 'embark'

In the absence of any preceding vowel at all, the occurrence of Sangiré e as opposed to ay is unpredictable (cf. 're (Sh 'éhe) 'kind of grass' and 'may (Sh 'éme) 'rice plants').

The history of PS*y is summarized diagrammatically as follows.


Sangihé
Pre-Sangir
Sangiré
component of
e
/ V((C)C)__#
i
/ #__
ø
/ V_f—
l
/ V_f̄—
*y
component of
e
/ V_1,mf((C)C)__#
y
/ V_h,b((C)C)__#
/ #,V_f̄—
ø
/ V_f—

1.1.3 PS*d

PS*d is subject to just two rules, one of which is sharply restricted in its application.

(1) PS*d becomes d in Sangihé, and in Sangiré d except both after silence or a front vowel and before an original *l that is bracketed by similar back or low vowels.

'dalleng / 'dalleng (*dalan) 'road'
'dallung / 'daung (*Dalem) 'inside'
'daung / 'daung (*dahun) 'leaf'
'déka' / déke' (*deket) 'stick'
'diadi / 'diadi (*zadih) 'create, establish'
'diko' / 'diko' (*deket[II]) 'ignite'
'dingihé / 'dingiré' (*deNeR) 'hear'
'dua / 'dua (*Duwah) 'two'
'duku' / 'duku' (*dukut) 'grass, vegetable'
én'dai' / én'dai' (*/h/anDah) 'there'
'éntudé' / én'tudé' (*qa(n)ted) 'bring, take'
'likudé' /'likudé'(*likuD) 'back'
'palledé' / 'palledé' (*palaj) 'palm of hand, sole of foot'
'panda / 'panda (*pandaN) 'look at'
'peda / 'peda (*peDa) 'bolo'
'pédu / pé'du (*pejuh) 'gall, anger'
'tada / 'tada (*/t/i (n)zak) 'tread'
talli'médo / tallimé'do (*tu(n)duq) 'finger'
'tukadé' / 'tukadé' (*/t/ukat) 'ladder, doorway'
''undang / ''undang (*qa(n)daN) 'medicine'

Counterexamples are 'nguda / 'ngulla (*hudah) 'young', and 'lihadé' / 'llehallé' 'chafe, strip away', in which the Sangiré forms do not manifest d as do the Sangihé. What has happened is that for Sangiré, PS*d first shifted to its intervocalic counterpart PS*r and thence to ll in accordance with the PS*r rule. Why this intervocalic change did not occur in the Sangihé forms--or for that matter, in other Sangihé and Sangiré forms (e.g. 'tada / 'tada 'tread')--is something that can be looked into later (Appendix II).

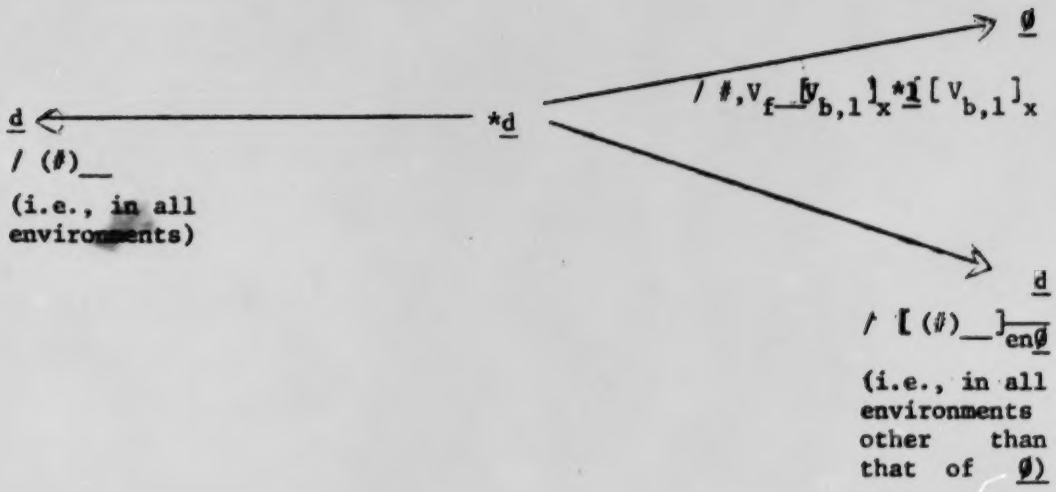
(2) PS*d becomes Ø in Sangiré after silence or a front vowel and before an original *l which is bracketed by similar back or low vowels (the first of which is then lost).

ki'ralla (ki + 'dalla) / ki'la (*lala) 'know, recognize'
dallo'ati / la'wati (*zuluk + *qatay?) 'roundworm'
'i'rollo ('i + 'dollo) / 'i'lo 'rest'
'dollosé' / 'losé' (*sulur) 'interchange, borrow'
do'llosi / 'losi 'k.o. sea fish'
'dolloi / 'loy 'sapling'
'dullu / 'lu (*zuluh) 'upland, wilderness'

Despite the dissimilar vowels bracketing Sh dallo'ati above, the absence of initial d in the cognate Sr la'wati is not irregular. It is quite certain that prior to the loss the Sangiré form had the low central a both before and after the medial lateral. Sr aw is a sister reflex of Sh o in just such environments throughout the language.

A genuine exception to this rule is Sr 'doré' (Sh 'dollohé') 'bald'. But even here there may be conditioning factors, which could even be written into the rule if there were more than just this one instance of the divergence. Notice that the loss of the initial CV - from the reconstructed PS*doloR would have resulted in *lor, a collocation of consonants intolerable to Sangiré (see sec. 3). Therefore the d was retained and the l itself lost, in this case by PS*l Rule 2c2. Implicit here is the assumption that this *d rule normally applied before the *l rules. Otherwise the lateral would have been lost before the environment fulfilled the conditions for the loss of d. [8]

Sangihé	Pre-Sangir	Sangiré



1.2 Unconditioned Change

It is reconstructed PS*r and *R that for each language have reflexes consistently the same in all environments.

1.2.1 PS*r

The fact that PS*r occurs only medially in word bases insures against complicating phenomena at morpheme borders. There is therefore but one rule and that is simply stated. First, however, there is one preliminary to dispose of.

In Sangihe, ll, the reflex of PS*r, occurs in some of the same environments as ll and l, the reflexes of PS*l. It is these correspondences that result in the Sangiré homonymy I referred to in the introduction ('ballisé' 'line up' and 'reciprocate'), as well as in lateral pairs like 'silli (*sijih) 'separate hulled from unhulled grain' and 'silli (*siliq) 'defer to'.

PS*r becomes r in Sangihé and ll in Sangiré.

'bera / 'bella (*bajaq) 'word, speak'
'biru' / 'billu' (*bi/r/uh) 'blue'
'dirisé' /'dillisé' 'bandage'
'doro' / 'dollo' 'alight, roost'
''irung / ''illung (*hijuN) 'nose'
'kere / 'kelle 'like, as'
'kire / 'killay 'agree'
'kurang / 'kullang (*kuraN) 'lack'
'kuring / 'kulling (*ku/dD/en) 'cooking pot'
'kurung / 'kullung (*kuruN) 'enclosure'
'mara / 'malla (*maja/h/) 'dry'
'mura / 'mulla (*mudaq) 'easy, inexpensive'
'parasé' / 'pallasé' (*paras) 'smooth'
pa'renta / pa'llenta (*/r/intaq) 'command'
'pira / 'pilla (*pijah) 'how many or much'
'sarang / 'sallang (* ha/r/aq) 'direction'
sa'ria / sa'llia (*besa/r/) 'large, course'
'suraté' / 'sullaté' (*surat) 'writing'
ta'rima' / ta'llima' (*ra/r/imah) 'accept'
''urang / ''ullang (*qu(n)DaN) 'shrimp'

Though r does not normally occur initially in Sangihé, a small class of loans exists where r is initial (e.g. Sh raha'sia (<In rahasia) 'secret'). And where these or r-initial forms from other languages are taken into Sangiré, the shift is as stated in the rules above (e.g. Sr llaha'sia (<Sh or Mag rahasia) 'secret truth').[9]

Sangihé	Pre-Sangir	Sangiré
r ←	*r	→ ll
/ (#)__ (i.e., in all environments)		/ (#)__ (i.e., in all environments)

1.2.2 PS*R

The last reconstruction to be considered in this part of the paper, PS*R is replaced consistently by the same phoneme in all environments.

PS*R becomes h in Sangihé and r in Sangiré.

'ahusé' / 'arusé' (*qaRus) 'succeed, change with'
'bahe' / 'bare' (*beRat) 'northwest monsoon'
'béha' / bé'ra' (*beRat) 'heavy'
'bibihé' / 'bibiré' (*bibiR) 'lips'
'bohasé' / birasé' (*beRas) 'hulled rice'
'boheng / 'boring (*hajeN) 'charcoal'
bo'hési' / boré'si' (*burih, *resi) 'smooth'
'buhu / 'buru (*beRuh) 'new'
'daha / 'dara (*/dD/aRaq) 'blood'
'éhe / 're 'kind of tall grass'
'dolohé' / 'doré' 'send person'
'haki' / 'raki' (*Ra(N)kit) 'raft, bind together'
'hasu' / 'rasu' (*Ratus) 'hundred'
'hébi' / rébi' (*Rabih) night, 24-hour period'
'hibu / 'ribu (*ribu) 'thousand'
hum'bia / rum'bia (*rumbi/y/ah) 'sago palm'
'husu' / 'rusu' (*Rusuk) 'rib'
''iha' / ''ira' (*huRat) 'tendon, vein'
'meha / 'mera (*hiRaq) 'brown'
'puhe / 'puray 'seashell'
'sangihé' / 'sangiré' 'Sangihé, Sangiré
''uhasé' / ''urasé' (*quRas) 'wash'

The only form worthy of notice is Sangihé 'sallu' (Sr 'sauré', *saluR) 'river', the derivation of which is regular except that the representation of *R has fiminished almost to vanishing, the only residue being glottal stop. This glottal is customary with such near losses of a final consonant though the losses themselves are relatively infrequent. For as Lopez (n.d.:42-43) puts it, "Sound decay is prevented by means of a supporting vowel in Sangir," viz. the high-central vowel é together with its invariable accompaniment when final, the glottal stop.

It should perhaps be noted here that PS*R is not the only proto-phoneme deriving as h in a daughter language. PS*h too, which has h reflexes in Sangihé and Sangiré as well (e.g. 'harapé / 'hallapé 'hope, expect'), thus gives evidence of yet another merger in these languages from previous to present time stage. However, since PS*h does not develop into phonemes of the l-d-r variety, it warrants no further attention here.

Sangihé	Pre-Sangir	Sangiré
h	*R	r
/ (#)__		/ (#)__
(i.e., in all environments)		(i.e., in all environments)

Preview: Of the sound correspondences charted on page 117, Part I has now accounted for 19 (nine for Sangihé and ten for Sangiré), or approximately 44% of the total of 43 correspondences. Though less than half of the complexity referred to at the outset has been resolved, the description thus far has perhaps been useful in its own right and certainly is foundational for what follows. Specifically, the next topic will move into an area in which there is the disappearance of base-initial phonemes rendered intervocalic by the juxaposition of an affix at some previous point in time. Such an absence of consonants, the coalescence of their bracketing vowels, and their apparent replacement by other consonants can be exceedingly confusing in reconstructing primitive forms as well as in understanding the current grammar. But more of this in Part II.

APPENDIX

The following is a brief description of the Sangihé and Sangiré phonemes featured in this article. The statements are abstracted (with minor corrections) from three of my own papers (1963, 1968, 1977), but an earlier and very different approach to the Sangihé phonology may be found in N. Adriani (1893:40-52).

To summarize for Sangihé, the phoneme inventory consists of 17 consonants, six vowels, and word stress with an extremely light functional load except in loans. [10] In the following list, phonemic symbols represent their respective phonetic counterparts unless otherwise indicated by a symbol in brackets. Conditioned variants are indicated in parentheses where relevant. The consonants are: b, b̲, d, g, g̲, h, k, l, ll, [ɬ], m, n, ng [ŋ], p, r [ɾ], s, t, ', The vowels

are: a, e ([ɛ] in closed syllables, [e] elsewhere), ë ([ə] preceding stressed syllables, [ɨ] elsewhere), i ([ɪ] in nasal-final syllables, [i] elsewhere), o ([ɔ] in glottal-final syllables, [o] elsewhere), u ([ʊ] in nasal-final syllables, [u] elsewhere).

Details on the phonemes in this paper are as follows.

l [l] is the voiced alveolar lateral non-vocoid. It occurs only initially and medially, and infrequently immediately following the glottal stop. It is subject to doubling after the high central vowel ë.[11]

ll [ɭ] is the voiced retroflexed flapped lateral non-vocoid. It occurs only medially following back and low central vowels.

r [ɾ] is the voiced alveolar flapped non-vocoid. It occurs only medially.

d [d] is the voiced alveolar stop non-vocoid. It occurs initially and medially, and also immediately following the glottal stop or a homorganic nasal.

h [h] is the voiceless glottal fricative non-vocoid. It occurs initially and medially, and infrequently immediately following the glottal stop.

' [ʔ] is the voiceless glottal stop non-vocoid. It occurs initially, finally, medially rarely, and as the first member of consonant pairs.

The general distribution of the phonemes may be stated in terms of the phonemic syllable as follows: (1) the syllable consists of a single vowel which may be preceded and/or followed by a consonant (formulaically, ± C + V ± C); and (2) the four syllable types (viz. CV, CVC, VC, V) co-occur freely except that vowel-initial syllables do not follow closed syllables.

The specific distribution of the phonemes is distinguished by (1) the non-occurrence utterance-initially of any vowel except ë; (2) the occurrence of the fricatives b and g and the flapped consonants ll and r only intervocalically, but never immediately after ë; (3) the limitation of consonant clusters to nasal plus homorganic stop or sibilant, or to glottal stop plus any consonant except fricative, retroflexive, or glottal stop; and (4) the non-occurrence utterance-finally of the high central vowel ë or of any consonant except glottal stop ' or the velar nasal ng. The velar nasal (-ng) invariably replaces any word-final nasal of proto-forms or loans. The utterance-final sequence high central vowel plus glottal stop (-ë'), a paragogic or echo phenomenon that occurs with high frequence in Sangihé (and Sangiré), is invariably added to proto-forms or loans which retain a final consonant other than a nasal or glottal stop. Though this final sequence is predictable, I transcribe it here to facilitate the reading of cited forms.

The Sangiré inventory consists of 18 consonants, six vowels, and indigenous word stress with a relatively heavy functional load. The consonants are the same as for Sangihé except that Sangiré does not have g and does have w and y. Sangiré vowels are the same as for Sangihé, but have minor differences in allophonic variation.

The featured consonants for Sangiré are:

y [y] is the voiced high close front unrounded non-syllabic vocoid. It occurs in all word positions. In open unstressed non-final syllables immediately following either a low vowel or an alveolar stop or nasal, it occurs in free variation with allophones of the phoneme i.

l [l] is the voiced alveolar lateral non-vocoid. Its distribution is identical with that of Sangihé l.

ll [ɭ] is the voiced retroflexed flapped lateral non-vocoid. It occurs medially following low central and back vowels.

[əɭ̆] is the voiced retroflexed flapped lateral non-vocoid with retroflexed mid central non-syllabic vocoid on-glide. It occurs initially and medially in complementary distribution with its co-allophone.

r [ɾ̆] is the voiced alveolar flapped non-vocoid. It occurs initially and medially.

[r^{g}] is the voiced alveolar flapped non-vocoid with velar friction. It occurs in free variation with the allophone [ɾ̆] of this same phoneme; it is the more frequent.

d [d] is the voiced alveolar stop non-vocoid. Its distribution is the same as that of Sangihé d.

' ['] is the voiceless glottal stop non-vocoid. Its distribution is the same as that for the Sangihé '.

The general and specific distribution of the Sangiré phonemes is the same as that for the Sangihé except that the high central vowel é is never stressed unless there is no other vowel in the word to which stress can shift, the fricative b and the flaps ll and r may occur initially as well as intervocalically, and also after é, and w and y may occur finally. In addition, the final sequence -é' as such is non-predictable and thus phonemic, though once the sequence occurs, the glottal stop, being the invariable accompaniment of the high-central vowel in this position, must occur and is itself therefore non-phonemic.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Of the early scholars investigating such phenomena, Conant and Dempwolff are of particular interest to us here. Conant has produced an especially helpful study entitled "Indonesian l in Philippine Languages" (1916), and also the article "The RGH Law in Philippine Languages" (1911). The latter is of direct relevance to PS*R, one of the phonemes treated here as intimately associated withPS*l, *d and *r. Dempwolff has given us an invaluable set of pertinent reconstructions in his monumental "Vergleishende Lautlehre des austronesischen Wortschatzes" (1938), but he has also published a work even more germaine to my reconstructions, "Die L-, R- und D-Laute in austronesischen Sprachen" (1924-25). Bloomfield (1927) reviews this article as an outline of "the sound history of one of the world's largest linguistic stocks" and says of it, "Dempwolff's study amounts to a comparative Austronesian phonology, probably as complete and detailed as human ingenuity could make it with the data that are available... Further advance will be possible, it would seem, only when more material can be used." It is my hope that the data and analysis in this present study will be counted among the many useful responses to Bloomfield's call for additional materials.

[2]Notice that these rules do not provide for an environment in which the high central ə not only precedes but also follows the lateral within the word base. The omission is made simply because no reflex of PS*l has been found to occur in that environment.

[3]Of course, Sangirə also exhibits such unassimilated loans, one of many from Visayan being ma'lita 'suitcase'.

[4]An alternate analysis might be that PS*y did not occur in this environment, PAN*y having become *Ø before reaching the Pre-Sangir stage. It seems to me the matter is indeterminable here, and I have just opted for the simplest analysis.

[5]Interestingly enough, almost every *y that is bracketed between similar non-front vowels has the Ø alternate as replacement.

[6]See Maryott (1963) for a brief synchronic study of this vowel in Sangihə, and Conant (1912) for a more general diachronic study.

[7]In Steller and Aebersold's usually impeccable Sangihə dictionary (1959), I take the form "mangirilo" (under "dolo", p. 105) to be a typographical error for "mangirolo', and informants confirm this.

[8]There is just conceivably a way of accounting for the data other than by this rule. Steller and Aebersold (1959) list a number of

Sangihé words like "doḷo" 'rest, etc.' as having (presumably) dialectal variants of the form "loḷo" 'rest, etc.' i.e., forms in which l replaces d initially. Might it not be plausible to find such variants for each of the Sangihé forms exemplifying this rule, then claim that not the initial consonant but the medial consonant was lost, quite routinely by *l rule 2c2. The l-initial variants do exist. I use one of them to explain a Sangiré form that would otherwise have constituted an exception to this *d rule 2. (Thus, Sr 'luaw 'saliva, spittle' does not pair with Sh 'dullo 'saliva' etc.', with the dissimilar bracketing vowels and the metathesis that this would entail, but rather with 'lullo, a Northern Sangihé variant not listed by Steller and Aebersold but cited by an acquaintance of ours from that area.) But these variant forms are not all that easy to come by. Of the seven examples under Rule 2, Steller and Aebersold list only "doḷo" as possessing the variant, and elicitation from the Sangihé themselves proves little better. In any case, the initial-d loss is required in sec. 2.2 and there nothing resembling the l-variant analysis will suffice.

[9]I have no data on borrowings from Sangiré by Sangihé.

[10]This will correct the claim in my 1963 article to the effect that stress is non-phonemic in Sangihé.

[11]It is just such doubling that motivated the Dutch scholars, at that point writing phonetically rather than phonemically, to use double-l, double-m, double-n, etc. immediately following the high central vowel. This is very different from my use of the double-l to symbolize the retroflexed lateral (Dutch "l̩") in contrast to single-l to represent the non-retroflexed lateral (Dutch "l" or "ll").

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DEFINITE OBJECTS AND SUBJECT SELECTION IN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

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There has been considerable interest of late in the Philippine languages, particularly among adherents of case grammar and relational grammar.[1] There has also been some confusion with regard to the observation that "There is apparently considerable freedom in the choice of topic."[2] While it is true that there is considerable freedom in the selection of sentence subject,[3] this freedom is not so great as has been implied, and it is subject to a number of constraints. One of the most important of these is the main concern of this paper, namely:

> As a general rule, an object complement with definite reference cannot occur in immediate construction with an unrelativized verb.

This rule applies to Tagalog and Bikol, the two languages to be discussed here, and apparently to a large number of other Philippine languages. This rule accounts for the ungrammaticality of the (d) sentences in each of the following sets of Tagalog sentences:[4]

(T1a) Nakakíta siyá ng Amerikáno. 'He saw an American.'
(b) Siyá ang nakakíta ng Amerikáno. 'He is the one who saw an/the American.'
(c) Siyá ang nakakíta sa ákin. 'He is the one who saw me.'
(d) *Nakakíta siyá sa ákin.

(T2a) Bumilí siyá ng sinehán. 'He bought a movie theater.'
(b) Siyá ang bumilí ng sinehán. 'He is the one who bought a/the movie theater.'
(c) Siyá ang bumilí ng Rizal Theater. 'He is the one who bought the Rizal Theater.'
(d) *Bumilí siyá ng Rizal Theater.'

(T3a) Nagbukás siyá ng pintô. 'He opened a door.'
(b) Siyá ang nagbukás ng pintô. 'He is the one who opened a/the door.'
(c) Siyá ang nagbukás sa pintô. 'He is the one who opened the door.'
(d) *Nagbukás siyá sa pintô.

This rule, as stated, contains three key terms: (1) object complement, (2) definite reference, (3) unrelativized verb. Each of these terms will be explained and discussed in the remaining three sections of this paper. There is another very important phrase contained in the rule, namely, "as a general rule." This means that like all rules,

there are exceptions to this one. However, it is not my purpose here to discuss the exceptions, but rather to present the main features of this rule, which accounts for the ungrammaticality of sentences (T1d), (T2d), (T3d) and thousands of other sentences in Tagalog and other Philippine languages.

One factor that complicates the investigation of this matter is that in Tagalog, in some cases, 'objects' and 'directions' share the same marking and are sometimes difficult to disambiguate. In some other languages, such as Bikol and Hiligaynon, this problem does not exist, since 'objects' and 'directions' are clearly distinguished. For this reason, in each section of this paper, the situation in Bikol[5] will be discussed first. It is hoped that this will make the subsequent discussion of Tagalog easier to understand. The critical sentences in Bikol are:

(B1a) Nakáhilíng siyá ki Amerikáno. 'He saw an American.'
(b) Siyá an nakáhilíng ki Amerikáno. 'He is the one who saw an American.'
(c) Siyá an nakáhilíng sakô. 'He is the one who saw me.'
(d) *Nakáhilíng siyá sakô.

(B2a) Nagbakál siyá ki sinihán. 'He bought a movie theater.'
(b) Siyá an nagbakál ki sinihán. 'He is the one who bought a movie theater.'
(c) Siyá an nagbakál kan Rizal Theater. 'He is the one who bought the Rizal Theater.'
(d) *Nagbakál siyá kan Rizal Theater.

(B3a) Nag-abrí siyá ki pintô. 'He opened a door.'
(b) Siyá an nag-abrí ki pintô. 'He is the one who opened a door.'
(c) Siyá an nag-abrí kan pintô. 'He is the one who opened the door.'
(d) *Nag-abrí siyá kan pintô.

Nominal Complements and Focus. The various 'cases' in Philippine languages are not so clearly or discretely marked as in many languages. Thus, for example, kan Amerikáno (in Bikol) can be either an actor complement or an object complement, as in the following examples:

(B4) Binakál kan Amerikáno (AC) an Rizal Theater. 'The American bought the Rizal Theater.' (Cf. Binakál ko an Rizal Theater. 'I bought the Rizal Theater.')

(B5) Siyá an nakáhilíng kan Amerikáno. (OC) 'He is the one who saw the American.' (Cf. Siyá an nakáhilíng sakô. 'He is the one who saw me.')

On the other hand sakô can be an object complement, as in sentence (B1c), or a directional complement, as in the following example:

(B6) Nagtaó siyá ki kwartá sakô. (DC) 'He gave me some money.'
(Cf. Nagtaó siyá ki kwartá sa Amerikáno. 'He gave the American some money.')

Because of this lack of discreteness and because of the alternations to be discussed below, it is necessary to distinguish 'cases' at three different levels: surface forms, nominal complements, and deep-structure variables.

In the common usage of today, 'cases' are considered to adhere to 'noun phrases' or NPs. Actually, I am not in the practice of talking about noun phrases for the Philippine languages, but rather reference expressions (RE). My reasons for this choice of terminology are discussed elsewhere.[6] I can imagine that most of my readers will feel more comfortable talking about NPs rather than REs. If this is the case, please write a substitution rule into your reading program, such that whenever I write 'RE' you will read 'NP' and we should have reasonably complete understanding.

In most or all Philippine languages, there are four basic types of RE, or NP if you must. These are personal pronouns (PP), deictic pronouns (DP), personal reference expressions (PRE), and common reference expressions (CRE). Examples of PP in Bikol are akó 'I', siyá 'he, she', sindá 'they'. DP are iní 'this (near speaker)', iyán 'that (near addressee)', and itó 'that (near neither)'. A PRE (something like a proper noun) consists of a PRE article and something taken to be the name of a human being or a personified entity. The nominative forms (see below) of PRE articles are si (singular) and sa (plural). Examples are: si Nardo 'Nardo'; sa Felix 'a group of two or more persons including someone named Felix'. A CRE (something like a common noun) in its most general form consists of a CRE article and a predicate phrase. One nominative CRE article is an. Examples of CRE are an harông 'the house'; an sadít 'the little (one)'; an nagkakantá 'the (one) singing'. Of course, there are a number of possible combinations derived from these basic types.

Every RE has a particular form which may be taken to indicate its 'surface-structure case'. However, I reserve the term case for deep-structure phenomena; therefore I refer to these forms simply as surface forms. In Bikol, there are three basic surface forms for each type of RE: the nominative, genitive, and oblique. For the second person singular pronoun, it is also necessary to distinguish a long and a short nominative form; these two forms are in complementary distribution.[7] The complete set of surface forms for Bikol personal pronouns are shown in the following table:

Nominative	Genitive	Oblique	Meaning
akó	ko	sakô/sakuyà[8]	I
ikáu/ka	mo	saímo	you (sg)
siyá	niyá	saíya	he/she

Nominative	Genitive	Oblique	Meaning
kitá	ta	satô/satuyà[8]	we (inclusive)
kamí	mi	samô/samuyà[8]	we (exclusive)
kamó	nindó	saindó	you (pl)
sindá	nindá	saindá	they

The surface forms for deictic pronouns are shown in the following table:

Nominative	Genitive	Oblique	Meaning
iní	kainí	digdí	this
iyán	kaiyán	diyán	that (near add.)
itó	kaitó	dumán	that (far)

Examples of PRE surface forms, using the name Perla, are shown in the following table:

Nominative	Genitive	Oblique	meaning
si Perla	ni Perla	ki Perla	Perla
sa Perla	na Perla	ka Perla	Perla and others

There are five CRE articles in Bikol. These may be arranged according to the three-way distinction for other RE, as in the following table (using the noun harông 'house' as an example):

Nominative	Genitive	Oblique	Meaning
an harông[9]	ki harông[9]	sa harông	house
su harông	kan harông		house

The distinction between an and su is not the same as the distinction between ki and kan.[10] The distinction between an and su is not central to our discussion here. Both an and su are 'definite' and mark the subject of a sentence. For example:

(B7a) Dakulâ an harông. 'The house is big.'
(b) Dakulâ su harông. 'The house is big.'

In general, su is more specific and more emphatic than an. If we consider an harông 'the house' and itông harông 'that house' to lie along the same continuum, then su harông 'the house' could be considered to lie on that same continuum halfway between an harông and itông harông. The distinction between ki and kan is one of indefinite versus definite. For example:

(B8a) badò ki akì 'a child's dress'
(b) badò kan akì 'the child's dress'

For the moment, we will consider the terms 'definite' and 'indefinite' to be sufficiently meaningful. We will return to this matter in the next section.

Because of the nature of Philippine syntax, it is necessary to distinguish an intermediate level of constructs lying somewhere between the surface forms and the deep-structure case forms--the nominal complements.[11] Although there are three types of surface forms for each type of RE, different types of RE having the same type of surface form do not necessarily substitute freely for each other (as we have seen in examples (B4)-(B6)). Rather, there are four different substitution classes which define four primary nominal complements: subject, actor, object, and direction.

The subject complement is drawn from a substitution class containing the nominative forms of all types of RE. For example:

(B9a) Nagkantá siyá. 'She sang.'
(b) Nagkantá itó. 'That one sang.'
(c) Nagkantá si Nora. 'Nora sang.'
(d) Nagkantá an akì. 'The child sang.'

The actor complement is drawn from a substitution class containing the genitive forms of all types of RE. For example:

(B10a) Binakál ta. 'We bought [it].'
(b) Binakál kainí. 'This one bought [it].'
(c) Binakál ni Carlos. 'Carlos bought [it].'
(d) Binakál kan babáyi. 'The woman bought [it].'

The object complement is drawn from a substitution class containing the genitive forms of deictic pronouns and CRE and the oblique forms of PP and PRE. In accordance with the rule which is the central problem of this paper, object complements with definite reference can only occur in relativized constructions. Thus the examples:

(B11a) Sísay an nagbadíl saindá? 'Who is the one who shot them?'
(b) Sísay an nagbadíl kaiyán? 'Who is the one who shot that one?'
(c) Sísay an nagbadíl ki Dino? 'Who is the one who shot Dino?'
(d) Sísay an nagbadíl ki bayóng? 'Who is the one who shot a bird?'
(e) Sísay an nagbadíl kan bayóng? 'Who is the one who shot the bird?'

The direction complement is drawn from a substitution class containing the oblique forms of all types of RE. For example:

(B12a) Itataó ko saindá. 'I'll give it to them.'
(b) Itataó ko diyán. 'I'll give it to that one.'
(c) Itataó ko ka Clarisa. 'I'll give it to Clarisa's group.'
(d) Itataó ko sa mga akì. 'I'll give it to the children.'

There are other types of complements which are composite, consisting of one of these four types plus some other element. An example of a composite complement is the benefactive complement, which consists of the particle pára + a directional complement. For example:

(B13a) Binakál niyá pára sakô. 'He bought [it] for me.'
(b) Binakál niyá pára digdí. 'He bought [it] for this one.'
(c) Binakál niyá pára ki Rodolfo. 'He bought [it] for Rodolfo.'
(d) Binakál niyá pára sa agóm. 'He bought [it] for [his] wife.'

Particular attention must be paid to the distinction between object complements and direction complements, since there are many verbs which enter into construction with DCs, but not with OCs. Direction complements with definite reference are not subject to the constraint under discussion here. Thus the following sentences are fully grammatical:

(B14a) Nagtábang akó saindá. 'I helped them.'
(b) Nagtábang akó diyán. 'I helped that one.'
(c) Nagtábang akó ka Clarisa. 'I helped Clarisa's group.'
(d) Nagtábang akó sa mga akì. 'I helped the children.'

Contrast the following sentences (from sentences (B11)) which are ungrammatical:

(B15a) *Nagbadíl siyá saindá.
(b) *Nagbadíl siyá kaiyán.
(c) *Nagbadíl siyá ki Dino.
(d) *Nagbadíl siyá kan bayóng.

We now turn to the third level of 'case relationships', that of the deep structure cases. As has been observed elsewhere the subject of a sentence in Philippine languages is not marked for (deep-structure) case. Its case can only be determined by the form of the verb of which it is the subject, and the alternation into which that verb enters. The verb form has thus been described as indicating the relationship between the subject and the verb,[12] or the relationship between the subject and other complements in the sentence. This relationship is usually determined on the basis of alternations between verb forms and between complements in sentences which share basically the same meaning.[13] For example, consider the following sentences:

(B16a) Nagtaó siyá ki kwartá sa babáyi. 'He gave money to the woman.'
(b) Tinâ-wan niyá ki kwartá an babáyi. 'He gave money to the woman.'

Most native speakers would agree that these sentences mean basically the same thing, with only a slight difference in emphasis. On the basis of the substitution rules stated above, we can establish that sentence (B16a) contains a verb (nagtaó), a subject complement (siyá), an object

complement (ki kwartá), and a directional complement (sa babáyi). Sentence (B16b) contains a verb (tinâ-wan), an actor complement (niyá), an object complement (ki kwartá), and a subject complement (an babáyi). The structure of the two sentences can be generalized as follows:

(B17a) Nagtaó - SUBJECT - OBJECT - DIRECTION
(b) Tinâ-wan - ACTOR - OBJECT - SUBJECT

In these two structures there is an alternation between the verb nagtaó (or magtaó, its basic or infinitive form[14]) and the verb tinâ-wan (basic form tâ-wan). There are also alternations (1) between the subject complement in (B17a) and the actor complement in (B17b), and (2) between the direction complement in (B17a) and the subject complement in (B17b). On the basis of these alternations we establish that the subject of magtaó (siyá) is in actor case, since it alternates with an actor complement. Likewise, the subject of tâ-wan (an babáyi) is in direction case, because it alternates with a direction complement. Going a step further, we say that magtaó is an actor-focus verb because its subject is in actor case, and that tâ-wan is a direction-focus verb because its subject is in direction case.

In similar manner, we can establish several other cases and focuses, such as benefactive:

(B18a) Nagbakál siyá ki kawátan pára sa akì. 'She brought a toy for the child.'
(b) Ibinakál niyá ki kawátan an akì. 'She bought a toy for the child.'

(B19a) Magbakál - SUBJECT - OBJECT - BENEFACTIVE
(b) Ibakál - ACTOR - OBJECT - SUBJECT

Magbakál is in actor focus; ibakál is in benefactive focus.

When we try to fit an object complement into this type of alternation, we encounter a problem--there is a semantic shift. For example:

(B20) Itinaó niyá an kwartá sa babáyi. 'He gave the money to the woman.'

In this sentence an kwartá is definite (in a sense to be discussed in the next section) and refers to some particular money that has already been introduced in the foregoing context. On the other hand, ki kwartá in sentences (B16) is indefinite and does not refer to any particular set of money. If we attempt to make 'money' in sentences (B16) definite, we end up with ungrammatical sentences:

(B21a) *Nagtaó siyá kan kwartá sa babáyi.
(b) *Tinâ-wan niyá kan kwartá an babáyi.

This may seem like a small difficulty, and it has been disregarded by some writers. But it is inc nvenient, and it can be circumvented. To do this, we must have a look at the rules for relativization. There are two types of relative constructions which result from the same relativization 'transformation'. These are na relativization and ang relativization.[15]

In na relativization the predicate of a basic sentence is placed in a modifying construction with the subject. Thus from sentences (B16) and sentence (B20), we have the following relativizations:

(B22a) (an laláki)-ng nagtaó ki kwartá sa babáyi '(the man) who gave money to the woman'
(b) an babáying tinâ-wan niyá ki kwartá 'the woman he gave money to'
(c) an kwartáng itinaó niyá sa babáyi 'the money he gave to the woman'

In ang relativization, the original subject is deleted, as in the following examples:

(B23a) an nagtaó ki kwartá sa babáyi 'the one who gave money to the woman'
(b) an tinâ-wan niyá ki kwartá 'the one he gave money to'
(c) an itinaó niyá sa babáyi 'that which he gave to the woman'

With few exceptions any predicate phrase which can undergo ang relativization can also undergo na relativization and vice versa. These two constructions will be referred to collectively as relativized predicate phrases.

In relativized predicate phrases, the constraint on definite object complements does not apply. Thus the following constructions are completely grammatical:

(B24a) (an laláki)-ng nagtaó kan kwartá sa babáyi '(the man) who gave the money to the woman'
(b) an babáying tinâ-wan niyá kan kwartá 'the woman he gave the money to'

These constructions can be interpreted as resulting from relativization of the following underlying (and ungrammatical) sentences:[16]

(B25a) *Nagtaó siyá kan kwartá sa babáyi.
(b) *Tinâ-wan niyá kan kwartá an babáyi.

With these underlying sentences we have the desired alternation from which we can establish that itaó (B20) is an object-focus verb.

The appeal to relativized constructions is always necessary for determining object focus (particularly in the case of certain verbs which cannot have an indefinite object[17]). It is also necessary in many cases for the determination of other focuses, such as the locative focus.[18]

Cases and verb focus cannot be determined solely on the basis of the verb form.[19] In (B20), itaó (i- + taó) is in object focus; but ibakál (i- + bakál) in (B18b) is in benefactive focus. In (B16b), tâ-wan (taó + -an) is in direction focus; but abrihán (abrí + -an) in (B26c) is in object focus:

(B26a) Nag-abrí siyá ki pintô. (OC) 'He opened a door.'
(b) Siyá an (lalâki)-ng nag-abrí kan pintô. (OC) 'He is (the man) who opened the door.'
(c) Iní an pintóng inabrihán niyá. 'This is the door he opened.'

It is also very difficult, although some people have tried, to find semantic criteria for distinguishing object complements from direction complements, and object-focus verbs from direction-focus verbs.[20] For example, what is the semantic difference between mag-abrí 'to open' and magtâbang 'to help', such that mag-abrí takes an object complement and magtâbang takes a direction complement?

There are other ways of handling case and focus in Philippine languages, and of defining the object complement, that being the purpose of this section. However, the approach presented here is the one I find simplest. We find a number of surface forms, which enter into a number of substitution classes or nominal complements. Finally, these complements participate in a number of alternations, which determine the deep-structure cases and verb focuses.

Let us now repeat the foregoing discussion, in abbreviated form, as it applies to Tagalog. The surface forms for Tagalog RE are shown in the following table:

Nominative	Genitive	Oblique	Meaning
akó	ko	sa ákin	I
ikáw/ka	mo	sa iyó	you (sg)
siyá	niyá	sa kanyá	he, she
táyo	nátin	sa átin	we (incl)
kamí	námin	sa ámin	we (excl)
kayó	ninyó	sa inyó	you (pl)
silá	nilá	sa kanilá	they
itó	nitó	díto	this
iyán	niyán	diyán	that (near add.)
iyón	niyón/noón	doón	that (far)

Nominative	Genitive	Oblique	Meaning
si Perla	ni Perla	kay Perla	Perla
siná Perla	niná Perla	kiná Perla	Perla and others
ang bâhay	ng (nang) bâhay	sa bâhay	house

Tagalog has only three CRE articles corresponding to the five CRE articles in Bikol. In terms of translation, Tagalog ang translates both an and su in Bikol. Tagalog ng (pronounced nang) always translates Bikol ki and, in some cases, Bikol kan. Tagalog sa always translates Bikol sa and, in some cases, Bikol kan. (See the discussion of object complement below.)

With the exception of the object complement, the substitution classes which determine the various complements in Tagalog correspond to the Bikol substitution classes.

Subject complement (nominative form of all RE):

(T9a) Umáwit siyá. 'She sang.'
(b) Umáwit iyón. 'That one sang.'
(c) Umáwit si Nora. 'Nora sang.'
(d) Umáwit ang batà. 'The child sang.'

Actor complement (genitive form of all RE):

(T10a) Binilí nátin. 'We bought [it].'
(b) Binilí nitó. 'This one bought [it].'
(c) Binilí ni Carlos. 'Carlos bought [it].'
(d) Binilí ng babáe. 'The woman bought [it].'

Direction complement (oblique form of all RE):

(T12a) Ibíbigáy ko sa kanilá. 'I'll give [it] to them.'
(b) Ibíbigáy ko diyán. 'I'll give [it] to that one.'
(c) Ibíbigáy ko kiná Clarisa. 'I'll give [it] to Clarisa's group.'
(d) Ibíbigáy ko sa mga batà. 'I'll give [it] to the children.'

Benefactive complement (pára + direction complement):

(T13a) Binilí niyá pára sa ákin. 'He bought [it] for me.'
(b) Binilí niyá pára dito. 'He bought [it] for this one.'
(c) Binilí niyá pára kay Rodolfo. 'He bought [it] for Rodolfo.'
(d) Binilí niyá pára sa asáwa. 'He bought [it] for [his] wife.'

The basic substitution class for the object complement in Tagalog is the same as in Bikol: the genitive forms of DP and CRE, the oblique

forms of PP and PRE. However, object complements with definite reference (restricted to relativized predicate phrases) may also be expressed by the oblique forms of DP and CRE. For example:

(T11a) Síno ang bumarîl sa kanilá? 'Who (is the one that) shot them?'
(b) Síno ang bumarîl niyán? (genitive) 'Who shot that one?'
(bb) Síno ang bumarîl diyán? (oblique) 'Who shot that one?'
(c) Síno ang bumarîl kay Dino? 'Who shot Dino?'
(d) Síno ang bumarîl ng íbon? (genitive) 'Who shot a/the bird?'
(e) Síno ang bumarîl sa íbon? (oblique) 'Who shot the bird?'

As in Bikol, particular attention must be paid to the distinction between object complements and direction complements. The problem is complicated in Tagalog since a definite object complement may be formally identical to a direction complement. However, a definite object complement is restricted to occurrence in relativized predicate phrases, whereas a direction complement is not so restricted. The following sentences (with direction complements) are fully grammatical:

(T14a) Tumúlong akó sa kanilá. 'I helped them.'
(b) Tumúlong akó diyán. 'I helped that one.'
(c) Tumúlong akó kiná Clarisa. 'I helped Clarisa's group.'
(d) Tumúlong akó sa mga batà. 'I helped the children.'

The following sentences (with definite object complements) are ungrammatical:

(T15a) *Bumarîl siyá sa kanilá.
(b) *Bumarîl siyá diyán.
(c) *Bumarîl siyá kay Dino.
(d) *Bumarîl siyá sa íbon.

The system of focus alternations follows the same pattern as in Bikol. Thus:

(T16a) Nagbigáy siyá ng péra sa babáe. 'He gave money to the woman.'
(b) Binigyán niyá ng péra ang babáe. 'He gave money to the woman.'

(T17a) Nagbigáy - SUBJECT - OBJECT - DIRECTION
(b) Binigyán - ACTOR - OBJECT - SUBJECT

Subject of magbigáy (siyá) = ACTOR CASE
Subject of bigyán (ang babáe) = DIRECTION CASE

magbigáy = ACTOR FOCUS
bigyán = DIRECTION FOCUS

Similarly:

(T18a) Bumilí siyá ng laruán pára sa batà. 'She bought a toy for the child.'
(b) Ibinilí niyá ng laruán ang batà. 'She bought a toy for the child.'

(T19a) Bumilí - SUBJECT - OBJECT - BENEFACTIVE
Ibinilí - ACTOR - OBJECT - SUBJECT

Subject of bumilí (siyá) = ACTOR CASE
Subject of ibilí (ang batà) = BENEFACTIVE CASE

bumilí = ACTOR FOCUS
ibilí = BENEFACTIVE FOCUS

As in Bikol, the determination of object case and object focus depends upon an appeal to relativized predicate phrases. The rules of relativization in Tagalog are basically the same as in Bikol. Thus, we have na relativization:

(T22a) (ang laláki)-ng nagbigáy ng péra sa babáe '(the man) who gave money to the woman'
(b) ang babáing binigyán niyá ng péra 'the woman he gave money to'
(c) ang pérang ibinigáy niyá sa babáe 'the money he gave to the woman'

And ang relativization:

(T23a) ang nagbigáy ng péra sa babáe 'the one who gave money to the woman'
(b) ang binigyán niyá ng péra 'the one he gave money to'
(c) ang ibinigáy niyá sa babáe 'that which he gave to the woman'

As in Bikol, the constraint on definite object complements does not apply to relativized predicate phrases. Thus the following constructions are completely grammatical:

(T24a) (ang laláki)-ng nagbigáy ng pérang itó sa babáe
'(the man) who gave this money to the woman'
(b) ang babáing binigyán niyá ng pérang itó 'the woman he gave this money to'

These constructions can be interpreted as resulting from relativization of the following underlying (and ungrammatical) sentences:

(T25a) *Nagbigáy siyá ng pérang itó sa babáe.
(b) *Binigyán niyá ng pérang itó ang babáe.

From such sentences we have the desired alternation from which we can establish that ibigay and many other verbs are in object focus.

Reference. Reference is a very difficult area of linguistics which, to my knowledge, has not yet been fully analyzed, although terms like 'definite reference', 'generic reference', 'co-reference', etc., are frequently encountered in the literature, as though these concepts are clear and easily understood. The following discussion is not intended to be a definitive analysis of reference either in language-specific or universal terms. It is intended solely to clarify what I mean by 'definite reference'.

In trying to understand the operation of reference, it is first necessary to distinguish referents--the non-linguistic entities which are talked about, in some manner--and reference--the linguistic process whereby referents are identified.

What do we mean by a referent? A referent can be a person, an object, a place, an idea, an imaginary being--in fact, anything that can be talked about can be a referent. And is there anything that can't be talked about? Nothing that can be specified. For if you were to tell me that there is an 'X' that cannot be talked about, you have in the process talked about that 'X' and told me something about it. The only entities that cannot be referents are those which are completely beyond the reach of human experience, such that they cannot even be conceptualized.

As stated above, reference is the process by which referents are identified. This process operates differently in different languages. In all languages, however, it is constrained by three basic parameters: (1) the nature of the referent; (2) the state of the speaker's knowledge; and (3) the state of the addressee's knowledge.

A referent may be specific, non-specific, or generic. In the first case, the speaker is saying something about a particular, i.e. specific, individual. For example:

(E1) My father came home late last night.

The phrase (RE) my father refers to a specific human being. On the other hand, the speaker may be referring to an unspecified individual or an unspecified member of a particular class. The underlined phrases in the following sentences refer to non-specific individuals, quantities, or members of particular classes:

(E2a) Will somebody help me?
(b) Please give me a glass of water.
(c) I want to buy a watch.

Or a speaker may be referring--generically--to a whole class of entities, or making a statement intended to apply to all members of that class.

As in the following:

(E3a) Women are so hard to understand.
(b) You can't leave a maid alone in the house.

If the referent is specific, it has an identity. That is, it has an existence which is distinct from all other referents, even those which may be very similar to it. For example, two ball bearings may be so similar that they cannot be distinguished except with very delicate and sensitive equipment. Yet ball bearing A is distinct from ball bearing B; it has its own identity.

The identity of a specific referent may or may not be known to the speaker. When I say that a speaker knows the identity of a referent, I mean that (1) he is in possession of a file of prior knowledge about that referent and that (2) he is aware that the referent currently being discussed is the same as the one to whom this prior knowledge relates. It is not precluded that the speaker may have two or more files on the same referent. For example, in a murder case, the detective will build files of information about all of the suspects. He will also keep a file on 'the murderer'. 'The murderer' is actually identical to one of the suspects, but it is only when the case is solved, that the detective is able to combine the file on 'the murderer' and the particular suspect into a single file.

The file of information on a referent may be extremely limited, and may have been obtained from the preceding statement. Or it may be a very extensive file.

In sentence (E1) it is obvious (or extremely probable) that the speaker possesses a file of information about his own father; that is, he knows the identity of the referent of the phrase my father. In the following examples, the underlined phrases refer to specific referents whose identity is not known to the speaker:

(E4a) Somebody stole my watch.
(b) There is a man under my bed.
(c) I saw John talking to a girl.

If the identity of the referent is known to the speaker, he must make a judgment as to whether the addressee also knowns the identity. If he judges that the addressee already possesses a file of information about a referent, the speaker must choose a linguistic expression which will enable the addressee to locate that file and to add the new information to what is already there. If he judges that the addressee does not have such a file, he may choose a linguistic expression which indicates to the addressee that he is not expected to have a file on the particular referent, and that he may or may not choose to open such a file. Such information is carried by 'indefinite noun phrases' and existential sentences. For example:

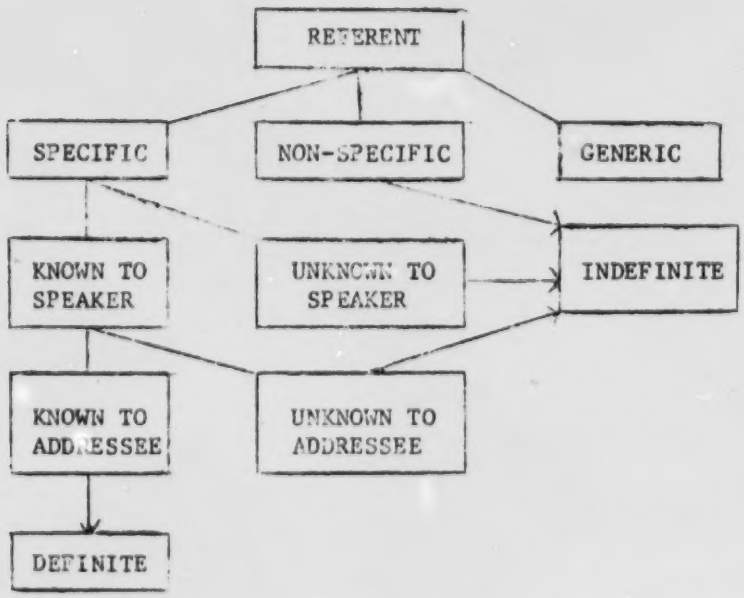
(E5a) Come here. I'm going to intteduce you to a very nice girl.
(b) There is something I want to tell you.

With this third parameter, there is considerable latitude for different semantic interpretations--and mistakes. If the speaker's judgment about the state of the addressee's knowledge is wrong, no great harm is done. If you refer me to a non-existent file, I can simply open a new file. If, on the other hand, you tell me to open a new file on a referent whose identity I already know, I can simply add your information to the old file instead of opening a new one. Because of this flexibility in the system, a speaker will frequently find it convenient to disregard the addressee's lack of prior knowledge, and introduce a new referent with a definite RE, as though it were already known to the addressee.

(E6) Come here. I'm going to int uce you to Lily.

This outline is very brief and skips many of the ramifications and exceptions in the operation of reference. It is merely intended to provide a definition of definite and indefinite reference in Tagalog and other Philippine languages. In the discussion of Tagalog and Bikol (at the least) the term definite reference indicates that the referent is specific and known to the speaker and known to the addressee. The term indefinite reference indicates that the referent is non-specific or unknown to the speaker or unknown to the addressee (see Diagram 1). Generic reference is not distinctively marked in these languages and is usually treated syntactically like indefinite reference. However, a subject may have generic reference even though it cannot have indefinite reference.

DIAGRAM 1



Reference expressions carry various types of reference information, which indicates whether the referent is definite or not, and which also enables the addressee to identify a definite referent, i.e., to find the proper file. There are basically three types of reference information which can be carried by reference expressions: pronominal, label, and predicative. There are basically two types of pronominal reference: personal and deictic. Personal pronouns distinguish referents on the basis of the speaker-addressee relationship. Every language that I know of has pronouns which refer to the speaker (1st person), the addressee (2nd person), someone else (3rd person), and various combinations of these. In a pure pronominal system, only pronominal information is carried by the pronouns. In many languages, various types of lexical or descriptive information are also carried by the pronouns. In English the third person singular pronouns also carry gender information: he (masculine), she (feminine), it (neuter). In Japanese a wide variety of pronouns express various degrees of politeness and humility in addition to pronominal reference information. Philippine languages have relatively pure personal pronominal systems.

Deictic pronouns distinguish referents on the basis of the spatial relationship (nearness or remoteness) to the speaker, and perhaps the addressee. Again, various other types of information may also be expressed by the deictic pronouns of a particular language.

Labels distinguish referents, not on the basis of describable differences, but on the basis that their labels are distinct. There is no necessity that the labels be unique; it is sufficient that they are distinctive within a given context. The labels 'A', 'B', 'C', etc., can be used again and again in different chemistry experiments, as long as within a given experiment, only one substance is labelled 'A', etc. Linguistically pure labels would carry no additional descriptive information. This is true when different individuals are distinguished simply by letters or numbers (consider your social security number). Names, on the other hand, frequently carry a certain amount of lexical information, such as the sex of the person named, his national origin, etc. Names of places (and of persons) frequently contain an overt lexical element; for example, the Rizal Theater, King George, etc. In Philippine languages, labels which are attached to persons and personified beings (personal names) are marked as personal reference expressions. Names of objects and places are marked, and treated syntactically, as common reference expressions.

Finally, referents can be distinguished by being described or classified in some way. It should be clear that no single description or classification can be necessarily unique, or sufficient to distinguish a particular referent from all other referents. Whether or not a particular description is sufficient depends upon the state of the world, our knowledge of it, and the relevant context within which we are speaking. If there is only one male in the relevant context, then an lalâki 'the man' would be sufficient to distinguish or identify him. If there are more than one, a more complete or more distinctive description must

be used: an alkálde 'the mayor', or an laláking náhilíng mo kasubanggí 'the man you saw last night'. If there are more than one mayor in the relevant context, or you saw more than one man last night, still more information is required: an alkálde kan Legaspi 'the mayor of Legaspi'; an matabáng laláking náhilíng mo kasubanggí 'the fat man you saw last night'. In Philippine languages descriptive, or predicative, reference information is carried primarily by common reference expressions.

It should be noted that indefinite referents are also described or classified. However, such descriptive information is not used (primarily) to distinguish or identify referents; it simply becomes the first bit of information to be placed in the new file for the particular referent.

Definite and indefinite reference are distinguished is various ways in Philippine languages. Personal pronouns and PRE are always understood to be definite; thus the constraint on definite object complements always applies to PP and PRE. Deictic pronouns are usually taken to be definite; however a generic reading is available; object complements with generic reference are not subject to the constraint. Thus:

(B27) Nagbakál siyá kainí. 'He bought this (kind).'

This sentence cannot have the definite reading 'He bought this (particular thing).' CRE can have definite, indefinite, or generic reference.

In different sentence positions, that is, as different types of complement, CRE can be marked for definiteness or indefiniteness. They will also tend to have an unmarked reading, which will vary from one type of complement to another. A CRE can be marked for definiteness through the addition of a deictic pronoun, a restrictive relative clause, or through replacement with a label: an harónng na iní 'this house'; an harónng na binakál ko 'the house I bought'; an Rizal Theatre 'the Rizal Theater'. One way to mark a CRE for indefiniteness is through the addition of a numberal such as saró 'one': (ki) saróng harónng 'a house'.

A subject which is not marked in such a way can have a definite or generic reading, but not an indefinite reading.[21] Definite and generic readings are distinguished by the context.[22] A subject can also be marked as definite:

(B28a) Nagkakáon ki kinó an ikós. (Definite or generic) 'The cat is eating a rat.' or 'Cats eat rats.'
(b) Nagkakáon ki kinó an ikós na iyán. (Definite) 'That cat is eating a rat/eats rats.'

An actor complement with the article ki has indefinite reference. An actor complement with kan has definite reference:

(B29a) Pigkakáon ki ikós an kinô. (Indefinite or generic) 'The rat is being eaten by a cat.' or 'Rats are eaten by cats.'
(b) Pigkakáon ki sarông ikós an kinô. (Indefinite) 'The rat is being eaten by a cat.'
(c) Pigkakáon kan ikós an kinô. (Definite) 'The rat is being eaten by the cat.'

An object complement with the article ki has indefinite or generic reference. An object complement with kan has definite reference; such object complements can only occur in relativized predicate phrases.

(B30a) Nagkakáon ki kinô an ikós. (Indefinite or generic) 'The cat is eating a rat.' or 'Cats eat rats.'
(b) Nagkakáon ki sarông kinô an ikós. (Indefinite) 'The cat is eating a rat.'
(c) Iní an ikós na nagkakáon kan kinô. (Definite) 'This is the cat who is eating the rat.'

An unmarked direction complement tends to have a definite reading, but can have an indefinite or generic reading:

(B31a) Nagtaó siyá ki kawátan sa akì. (Probably definite) 'He gave the child (a child) a toy.'
(b) Nagtaó siyá ki kawátan dumán sa akì. (Definite) 'He gave that child a toy.'
(c) Nagtaó siyá ki kawátan sa sarông akì. (Indefinite) 'He gave a child a toy.

Much of what has been said above with regard to Bikol also holds true for Tagalog. However the interpretation of unmarked CRE is somewhat different.

Readings for the subject are the same in Tagalog as in Bikol:

(T28a) Kumákáin ng dagâ ang pusà. (Definite or generic) 'The cat is eating a rat.' or 'Cats eat rats.'
(b) Kumákáin ng dagâ ang púsang iyán. (Definite) 'That cat is eating a rat/eats rats.'

Tagalog has only one article (ng) corresponding to ki and kan in Bikol. An actor complement with ng tends to have a definite reading, but may have an indefinite or generic reading:

(T29a) Kinákáin ng pusà ang dagâ. (Probably definite) 'The rat is being eaten by the cat/a cat.' or 'Rats are eaten by cats.'
(b) Kinákáin ng isáng pusà ang dagâ. (Indefinite) 'The rat is being eaten by a cat.'
(c) Kinákáin ng púsang iyán ang dagâ. (Definite) 'The rat is being eaten by that cat.'

In an unrelativized predicate phrase, an object complement with the article ng can have only an indefinite or generic reading:

(T30a) Kumákáin ng dagâ ang pusà. (Indefinite or generic) 'The cat is eating a rat.' or 'Cats eat rats.'
(b) Kumákáin ng isáng dagâ ang pusà. (Indefinite) 'The cat is eating a rat.'

In a relativized predicate phrase, an unmarked object complement with the article ng tends to have an indefinite reading, but can also have a definite reading. In addition to the methods mentioned above, a CRE object complement can be marked for definiteness (only in a relativized environment) by replacing the article ng with the article sa:

(T30d) Itó ang púsang kumáin ng dagâ. (Probably indefinite) 'This is the cat who ate a rat (the rat).'
(e) Itó ang púsang kumáin ng dagáng iyón. (Definite) 'This is the cat that ate that rat.'
(f) Itó ang púsang kumáin sa dagâ. (Definite) 'This is the cat that ate the rat.'
(g) Itó ang púsang kumáin ng isáng dagâ. (Indefinite) 'This is the cat that ate a rat.'

Readings for direction complements are the same in Tagalog as in Bikol:

(T31a) Nagbigáy siyá ng laruán sa batà. (Probably definite) 'He gave the child (a child) a toy.'
(b) Nagbigáy siyá ng laruán doón sa batà. (Definite) 'He gave that child a toy.'
(c) Nagbigáy siyá ng laruán sa isáng batà. (Indefinite) 'He gave a child a toy.'

This discussion has been intended to provide a definition of 'definite reference' as it applies to the Philippine languages, that is, to reveal the semantic motivation for the application of the constraint being discussed to some object complements and not to others. There are many, many more questions to be asked and problems to be discussed with regard to reference. How do we refer to a definite part of an indefinite entity (the head of a pin); to an indefinite member of a definite group (one of my brothers); to a combination of definite and indefinite referents (John and some other guys)? What is the relationship between reference and anaphora? I leave these and other problems for discussion in a paper devoted solely to the matter of reference.

Relativization. In Philippine languages, it is very important to distinguish between relativized and unrelativized predicates, especially verbs. A verb (or any kind of predicate) has two basic functions: (1) a predicative function, in which the verb describes a particular referent or states a relationship holding between two or more referents; and

(2) a reference function, in which the verb identifies the particular referent, by describing it or stating a relationship. Unrelativized verbs perform the predicative function; relativized verbs, the reference function.

In sentence (B32a) below, the verb hinâ-bas is unrelativized, and states a relationship between an actor (kan akì) and a subject/underlying-object (an áyam). In sentence (B32b) the same verb is relativized, and identifies the particular referent (an áyam) in terms of its relationship to the actor:

(B32a) Hinâ-bas kan akì an áyam. 'The child stole the dog.'
(b) Náhilíng ko an áyam na hinâ-bas kan akì. 'I saw the dog that the child stole.'

It has frequently been observed that only the subject of a sentence can be 'relativized', or that relativization can only be applied to the subject. Thus in sentence (B32a) relativization can be applied to the subject (an áyam), but not to the actor complement (kan akì):

(B33) *Náhilíng ko an áking hinâ-bas an áyam.

Relativization can be applied to the 'actor' only if the verb is replaced by an actor-focus verb:

(B34a) *Naghâ-bas an akì kan áyam. (Ungrammatical underlying sentence)
(b) Náhilíng ko an áking naghâ-bas kan áyam. 'I saw the child who stole the dog.'

Again, from sentences (B16) and sentence (B20) the following relativizations are grammatical:

(B35a) (an laláki)-ng nagtaó ki kwartá sa babáyi '(the man) who gave money to the woman'
(b) an kwartáng itinaó niyá sa babáyi 'the money he gave to the woman'
(c) an babáying tinâ-wan niyá ki kwartá 'the woman he gave money to'

The following relativizations are ungrammatical:

(B36a) *(an laláki)-ng itinaó an kwartá sa babáyi
(b) *(an laláki)-ng tinâ-wan ki kwartá an babáyi
(c) *an kwartáng nagtaó siyá sa babáyi
(d) *an kwartáng tinâ-wan niyá an babáyi
(e) *an babáying nagtaó siyá ki kwartá
(f) *an babáying itinaó niyá an kwartá

While it is true (1) that relativization can always be applied to the subject and (2) that, in a verbal sentence, relativization can only be applied to the subject, it is also true that there are some non-verbal sentences in which relativization can be applied to an element other than the subject, as in the following examples:

(B37a) Halabà an bûhok kan babáyi. 'The girl's hair is long.'
(b) Magayón an halábang bûhok kan babáyi. 'The girl's long hair is pretty.'
(c) Magayón an babáying halabà an bûhok. 'The girl with long hair is pretty.'

(B38a) Daí kamíng kwartá. 'We have no money.'
(b) Kamí an daíng kwartá. 'We are the ones who have no money.'
(c) Kwartá (saná) an daí kamí. 'Money is the (only) thing we don't have.'

(B39a) Gustó kong mag-uli. 'I want to go home.'
(b) Akó an gustóng mag-uli. 'I am the one who wants to go home.'

The primary environment in which unrelativized verbs are found is a type of sentence called a basic sentence.[23] In addition, there are two other environments which are taken to be unrelativized--embedded sentences in quotative and modal sentences. The constraint on definite object complements applies to these environments as well as to basic sentences. For example:

(nakáhilíng siyá ki Amerikáno.
(B40) Sinábi kong (nagbakál siyá ki sinihán.
(nag-abrí siyá ki pintô.

(he saw an American.'
'I said (he bought a movie theater.'
(he opened a door.'

(makáhilíng siyá ki Amerikáno.
(B41) Habô kong (magbakál siyá ki sinihán.
(mag-abrí siyá ki pintô.

(to see an American.'
'I don't want him (to buy a movie theater.'
(to open a door.'

(nakáhilíng siyá sakô.
(B42) *Sinábi kong (nagbakál siyá kan Rizal Theater.
(nag-abrí siyá kan pintô.

(makáhilíng siyá sakô.
(B43) *Habô kong (magbakál siyá kan Rizal Theater.
(nag-abrí siyá kan pintô.

Compare:

(B44) Sinábi kong (náhilíng niyá akó.
(binakál niyá an Rizal Theater.
(inabrihán niyá an pintô.

'I said (he saw me.'
(he bought the Rizal Theater.'
(he opened the door.'

(B45) Habô kong (máhilíng niyá akó.
(bakalón niyá an Rizal Theater.
(abrihán niyá an pintô.

'I don't want him (to see me.'
(to buy the Rizal Theater.'
(to open the door.'

Relativization can apply to the subjects of such embedded sentences, in which case the constraint on definite object complements does not apply. Thus the following sentences are grammatical:

(B46) Siyá an sinábi kong (nakáhilíng sakô.
(nagbakál kan Rizal Theater.
(nag-abrí kan pintô.

'He is the one I said (saw me.'
(bought the Rizal Theater.'
(opened the door.'

(B47) Siyá an habô kong (makahilíng sakô.
(magbakál kan Rizal Theater.
(mag-abrí kan pintô.

'He is the one I don't want (to see me.'
(to buy the Rizal Theater.'
(to open the door.'

There are two additional constructions which can be considered to be relativized, and to which the constraint on definite object complements does not apply. One of these is the gerund construction. A gerund refers to a particular event rather than to any of the participants in the event. In a gerund construction, none of the RE is marked as the subject.

(B48a) an pagkahilíng niyá ki Amerikáno 'his seeing an American'
(b) an pagkahilíng niyá sakô 'his seeing me'

(B49a) an pagbakál niyá ki sinihán 'his buying a movie theater'
(b) an pagbakál niyá kan Rizal Theater 'his buying the Rizal Theater'

(B50a) an pag-abrí niyá ki pintô 'his opening the door'
(b) an pag-abrí niyá kan pintô 'his opening the door'

The other construction is the existential construction. The embedded predicate phrase has the same form as a relativized predicate phrase in a CRE, except that any actor complement in the embedded phrase is extracted and becomes the subject of the existential.

Consider the following:

(B51a) Iní an agóm ko. 'This is my wife.'
(b) Igwá akóng agóm. 'I have a wife.'
(c) Daí akóng agóm. 'I have no wife.'

(B52a) Iní an maestrá. 'This is the teacher.'
(b) Igwáng maestrá. 'There is a teacher.'
(c) Daíng maestrá. 'There is no teacher.'

(B53a) Iní an nagtaó ki kwartá sa babáyi. 'This is the one who gave money to the woman.'
(b) Igwáng nagtaó ki kwartá sa babáyi. 'Someone gave money to the woman.'
(c) Daíng nagtaó ki kwartá sa babáyi. 'No one gave money to the woman.'

(B54a) Iní an itinaó niyá sa babáyi. 'This is what he gave to the woman.'
(b) Igwá siyáng itinaó sa babáyi. 'He gave something to the woman.'
(c) Daí siyáng itinaó sa babáyi. 'He didn't give anything to the woman.'

(B55a) Iní an tinâ-wan niyá ki kwartá. 'This is the one he gave money to.'
(b) Igwá siyáng tinâ-wan ki kwartá. 'He gave money to someone.'
(c) Daí siyáng tinâ-wan ki kwartá. 'He didn't give money to anyone.'

The constraint does not apply to existential sentences. Thus:

(B56a) Igwáng nakáhilíng sakô. 'Someone saw me.'
(b) Daíng nakáhilíng sakô. 'No one saw me.'

(B57a) Igwáng nagbakál kan Rizal Theater. 'Someone bought the Rizal Theater.'
(b) Daíng nagbakál kan Rizal Theater. 'No one bought the Rizal Theater.'

(B58a) Igwáng nag-abrí kan pintô. 'Someone opened the door.'
(b) Daíng nag-abrí kan pintô. 'No one opened the door.'

The formal difference between relativized and unrelativized verbs is frequently so slight and subtle that it has escaped the attention of many researchers and confounded many students trying to learn Philippine languages. Yet the difference exists, it is well defined, and it is very important in Philippine syntax.

The preceding discussion applies to Tagalog in exactly the same way as it does to Bikol. The following examples are the Tagalog equivalents of the Bikol examples above:

(T32a) Ninákaw ng batà ang áso. 'The child stole the dog.'
(b) Nákíta ko ang ásong ninákaw ng batà. 'I saw the dog that the child stole.'

(T33) *Nákíta ko ang bátang ninákaw ang áso.

(T34a) *Nagnákaw ang batà sa áso.
(b) Nákíta ko ang bátang nagnákaw sa áso. 'I saw the child who stole the dog.'

(T35a) (ang laláki)-ng nagbigáy ng péra sa babáe '(the man) who gave money to the woman'
(b) ang pérang ibinigáy niyá sa babáe 'the money he gave to the woman'
(c) ang babáing binigyán niyá ng péra 'the woman he gave money to'

(T36a) *(ang laláki)-ng ibinigáy ang péra sa babáe
(b) *(ang laláki)-ng binigyán ng péra ang babáe
(c) *ang pérang nagbigáy siyá sa babáe
(d) *ang pérang binigyán niyá ang babáe
(e) *ang babáing nagbigáy siyá ng péra
(f) *ang babáing ibinigáy niyá ang péra.

(T37a) Mahabà ang buhók ng babáe. 'The girl's hair is long.'
(b) Magandá ang mahábang buhók ng babáe. 'The girl's long hair is pretty.'
(c) Magandá ang babáing mahabà ang buhók. 'The girl with long hair is pretty.'

(T38a) Walâ kamíng péra. 'We have no money.'
(b) Kamí ang waláng péra. 'We are the ones who have no money.'
(c) Péra (lang) ang walâ kamí. 'Money is the (only) thing we don't have.'

(T39a) Gustó kong umuwî. 'I want to go home.'
(b) Akó ang gustóng umuwî. 'I'm the one who wants to go home.'

(T40) Sinábi kong (nakakíta siyá ng Amerikáno.
(bumilí siyá ng sinehán.
(nagbukás siyá ng pintó.

(he saw an American.'
'I said (he bought a movie theater.'
(he opened a door.'

(makakíta siyá ng Amerikáno.
(T41) Áyaw kong (bumilí siyá ng sinehán.
(magbukás siyá ng pintô.

(to see an American.'
'I don't want him (to buy a movie theater.'
(to open a door.'

(nakakíta siyá sa ákin.
(T42) *Sinábi kong (bumilí siyá ng Rizal Theater.
(nagbukás siyá sa pintô.

(makakíta siyá sa ákin.
(T43) *Áyaw kong (bumilí siyá ng Rizal Theater.
(magbukás siyá sa pintô.

(nákíta niyá akó.
(T44) Sinábi kong (binilí niyá ang Rizal Theater.
(binuksán niyá ang pintô.

(he saw me.'
'I said (he bought the Rizal Theater.'
(he opened the door.'

(mákíta niyá akó.
(T45) Áyaw kong (bilhín niyá ang Rizal Theater.
(buksán niyá ang pintô.

(to see me.'
'I don't want him (to buy the Rizal Theater.'
(to open the door.'

(nakakíta sa ákin.
(T46) Siyá ang sinábi kong (bumilí ng Rizal Theater.
(nagbukás sa pintô.

(saw me.'
'He is the one I said (bought the Rizal Theater.'
(opened the door.'

(makakíta sa ákin.
(T47) Siyá ang áyaw kong (bumilí ng Rizal Theater.
(magbukás sa pintô.

(to see me.'
'He is the one I don't want (to buy the Rizal Theater.
(to open the door.'

(T48a) ang pagkakíta niyá ng Amerikáno 'his seeing an American'
(b) ang pagkakíta niyá sa ákin 'his seeing me'

(T49a) ang pagbilí niyá ng sinehán 'his buying a movie theater'
(b) ang pagbilí niyá ng Rizal Theater 'his buying the Rizal Theater'

(T50a) ang pagbubukás niyá ng pintô 'his opening a/the door'
(b) ang pagbubukás niyá sa pintô 'his opening the door'

(T51a) Itó ang asáwa ko. 'This is my wife.'
(b) May asáwa akó. 'I have a wife.'
(c) Walâ akóng asáwa. 'I have no wife.'

(T52a) Itó ang gurò. 'This is the teacher.'
(b) May gurò. 'There is a teacher.'
(c) Waláng gurò. 'There is no teacher.'

(T53a) Itó ang nagbigáy ng péra sa babáe. 'This is the one who gave money to the woman.'
(b) May nagbigáy ng péra sa babáe. 'Someone gave money to the woman.'
(c) Waláng nagbigáy ng péra sa babáe. 'No one gave money to the woman.'

(T54a) Itó ang ibinigáy niyá sa babáe. 'This is what he gave to the woman.'
(b) May ibinigáy siyá sa babáe. 'He gave something to the woman.'
(c) Walâ siyáng ibinigáy sa babáe. 'He didn't give anything to the woman.'

(T55a) Itó ang binigyán niyá ng péra. 'This is the one he gave money to.'
(b) May binigyán siyá ng péra. 'He gave someone money.'
(c) Walâ siyáng binigyán ng péra. 'He didn't give money to anyone.'

(T56a) May nakakíta sa ákin. 'Someone saw me.'
(b) Waláng nakakíta sa ákin. 'No one saw me.'

(T57a) May bumilí ng Rizal Theater. 'Someone bought the Rizal Theater.'
(b) Waláng bumilí ng Rizal Theater. 'No one bought the Rizal Theater.'

(T58a) May nagbukás sa pintô. 'Someone opened the door.'
(b) Waláng nagbukás sa pintô. 'No one opened the door.'

A syntactic model. What then are the consequences of this constraint for the description of the syntax of Philippine languages? The most immediate consequence is that it imposes a severe restriction on the speaker's freedom in selecting the subject of a sentence. It is essential that this constraint be written into our model for Philippine syntax.

Ah, but what is our model of Philippine syntax? I have my own personal model, which I am somewhat hesitant to reveal. However, I am willing to do so, on the condition that you understand that what I present is merely a conceptualization--a way of describing the system I observe, a conceptualization which I may abandon tomorrow in favor of a better description. This model is not essentially based on any of the current linguistic theories (so far as I know); it does not contain underlying sentences, nor ordered rules. The model simply attempts to present, in an organized way, the sets of information which are carried by particular sentences.[24]

The starting point of my model in the predicate, of which there are three major types: nouns, verbs, and adjectives. The basic meaning of every predicate will be found in a lexicon. In the case of verbs, the lexicon will also contain a classification, which specifies the configuration of case-marked variables associated with a particular verb, and the different focus forms that verb may take on. For example, the verb bigáy 'to give' is classified as a mag-/i-/-an verb, meaning that it is obligatorily associated with three variables--an actor, an object, and a direction--and that it will have an actor-focus form magbigáy, an object-focus form ibigáy, and a direction-focus form bigyán. The following are examples of other major classifications:

lutò (mag-/-in)	=	maglutò (AF), lutúin (OF) 'to cook'
káin (-um-/-in)	=	kumáin (AF), kaínin (OF) 'to eat'
simulâ (mag-/-an)	=	magsimulâ (AF), simulán (OF) 'to begin'
damá (maka-/má-)	=	makadamá (AF), mádamá (OF) 'to feel'
unawà (maka-/má-an)	=	makaunawà (AF), máunawáan (OF) 'to understand'
lápit (-um-/-an(D))	=	lumápit (AF), lapítan (DF) ' to approach'
íbig (-um-/-in(D))	=	umíbig (AF), ibígin (DF) 'to love'
tákot (ma-/ka-an(D))	=	matákot (AF), katakútan (DF) ' to fear'
bíhis (mag-)	=	magbíhis 'to get dressed'
hingá (-um-)	=	humingá ' to breathe'
túlog (ma-)	=	matúlog 'to sleep'

In many cases different predicates will share the same verb root. For example:

tayô (-um-) 'to stand up'
tayô (mag-/i-)'to erect'

abót (mag-/i-/-an) 'to hand to'
abót (-um-/-in) 'to reach for'

In addition to verbs, some nouns and adjectives are classified as relational (+rel), meaning that they are obligatorily associated with an actor or direction. For example:

amá (+rel) (Cf. ang amá ng gurò 'the teacher's father')
malayò (+rel) (Cf. malayò sa báyan ' far from the town')

For a specific sentence, a verb must be marked for aspect.[25] It may also be marked for a variety of other meanings, such as causative,[26] aptative,[27] etc. For example:

bigáy (mag-/-i-/-an) +Pft	=	nagbigáy (AF) 'gave' ibinigáy (OF) 'was given (to s.o.)' binigyán (DF) 'was given (s.t.)'
bukás (mag-/-an) +Ipf +Caus	=	nagpápabukás (A_1F) 'causing to open' pinabúbukás (A_2F) 'being caused to open' pinabúbuksán (OF) 'being caused to be opened'
kúha (-um-/-in) +Fut +Apt	=	makakúkúha (AF) 'will be able to get' makúkúha (OF) 'will be able to be gotten'

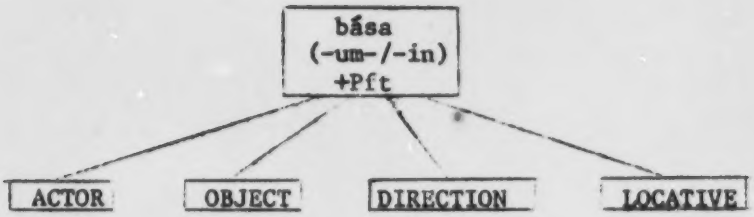
For a particular sentence, a number of variables will be shown in association with the predicate. In addition to the obligatory variables specified in the verb classification, optional variables and peripheral variables may also be associated with a particular verb. An optional variable is one the meaning of which is intimately related to the basic meaning of a verb, but which is not essential to that basic meaning. For example, the basic meaning of the verb bása (-um-/-in) 'to read' necessarily involves the participation of an actor (the one reading) and an object (what is being read). A direction (someone being read to) may or may not be present:

(T59a) Binása niyá ang súlat. 'He read the letter.' (No direction variable)
(b) Binása niyá ang súlat sa ákin. 'He read the letter to me.'

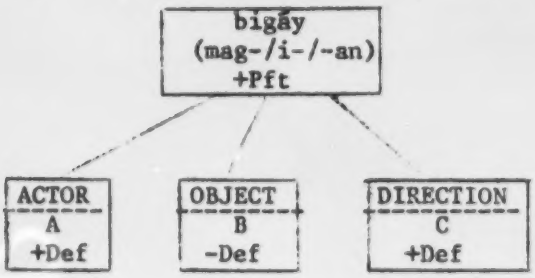
A peripheral variable is one which can be added to a large number of predicates, but the meaning of which is relatively independent of the basic meaning of any particular predicate. Such a variable is the locative variable. We can add a locative variable to sentence (T59b):

(T60) Binása niyá ang súlat sa ákin sa kusína. 'He read the letter to me in the kitchen.'

At this point our model (for sentence (T60)) looks something like this:



Our next step is to identify the particular referents to which the sentence, or predicate, is being applied. Since these referents are non-linguistic they have to be identified, at this point, in some non-linguistic manner. Obviously the human mind has some system--perhaps a mixed linguistic and non-linguistic system--for keeping the file on one referent distinct from other files. For our purposes it is sufficient to attach index numbers or letters to distinguish the various referents referred to in a particular sentence. In addition, each of these referents will be marked + Definite in the context of the particular sentence. In sentence (T60) all of the referents are marked + Definite. The following diagram indicates the structure of sentence (T16a), up to this point:



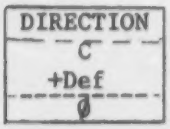
(Nagbigáy siyá ng péra sa babáe. 'He gave money to the woman.')

The speaker must now choose the proper way of referring to each of these referents. He must decide how much, and what kind of, information is appropriate to enable the addressee to identify the referent. In some cases, he may decide that no information at all is necessary, since the identity of the referent is obvious. In these cases, he can use ∅ reference, eliminating that particular variable from the surface-structure sentence altogether. For example, we might have the following sequence:

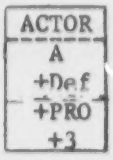
(T61) Anó ang naitúlong niyá sa babáe? 'What did he do to help the woman?'

(T62) Binigyán niyá ng péra. 'He gave /her/ money.'

In sentence (T62), the direction variable has ∅ reference:



Or the speaker may provide one of three types of reference information: pronominal, label, or predicative. In sentence (T16b) the actor is referred to pronominally (niya); he is identified as being some person other than the speaker or the addressee (+3). Our model would show this in the following way:[28]



In this particular context, the direction variable might have been identified by label, that is, by name. For example:

(T63) Binigyán niyá ng péra si Lorna. 'He gave money to Lorna.'

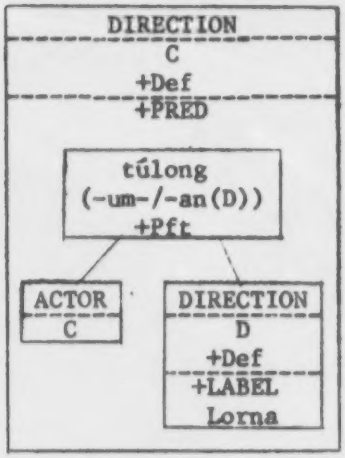
This would be shown as follows:

'Lorna' will be specified somewhere, perhaps in the lexicon, as the name of a human being, so that the referent will ultimately be referred to with a PRE.

If the referent is identified predicatively, then another diagram for that predicate will be found, embedded as it were, in the box for that variable. For example, we might have said:

(T64) Binigyán niyá ng péra ang tumúlong kay Lorna. 'He gave money to the one who helped Lorna.'

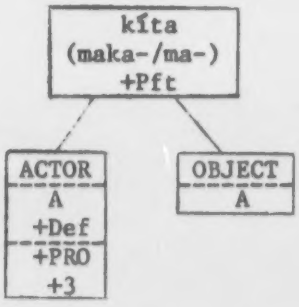
Thus:



Notice that in this construction, which is a relativized construction, the referent C is mentioned twice, once as the direction variable of the verb bigáy and once as the actor variable of the verb túlong. In such cases, it is only necessary to state the reference information once. This is also true when the same referent appears as more than one variable of the same verb. For example:

(T65) Nákíta niyá ang saríli niyá. 'He saw himself.'

This would be diagrammed:

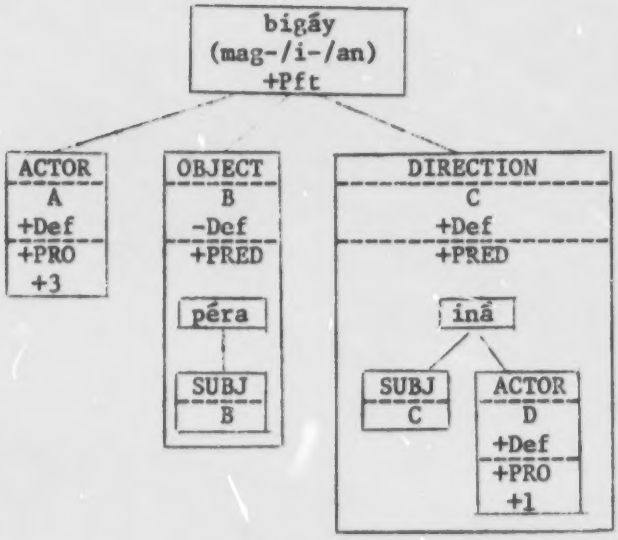


The noun saríli 'self' would be generated by the rules for reflexivization.

This same schematization will be used even for nominal and adjectival relativized predicates. Some of you may find this cumbersome, but I find it more consistent. Another example:

(T66) Binigyán niyá ng péra ang iná ko. 'He gave money to my mother.'

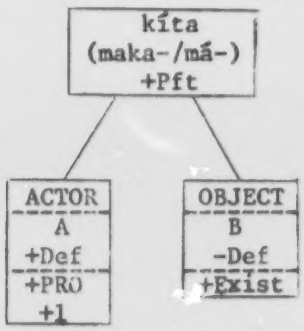
Diagrammed:



An indefinite referent may be referred to predicatively, as in the last example, or in some cases, by ∅ reference. There is another way in which indefinite, but not definite, referents may be referred to--existentially. They may be marked '+Exist' as in the following sentence:

(T67) May nákíta akó. 'I saw something.'

Diagrammed:



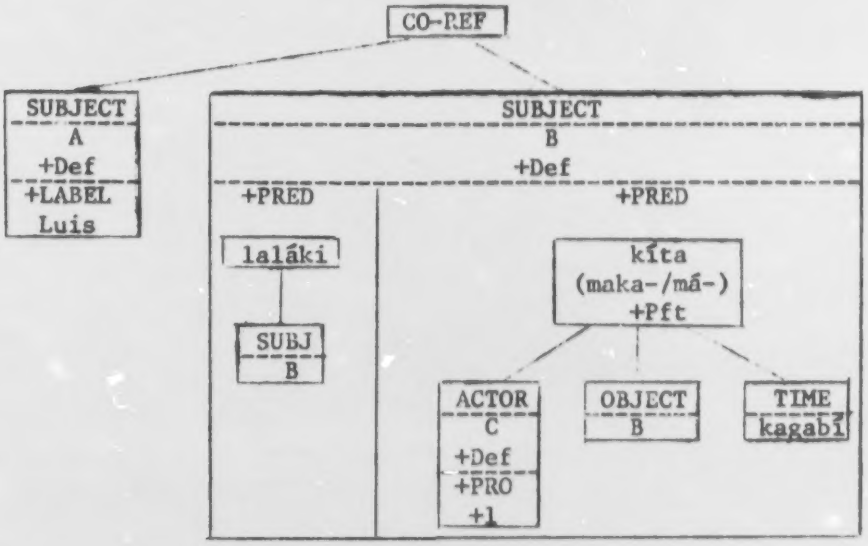
'-Exist' indicates that no such referent exists:

(T68) Walâ akóng nákíta. 'I didn't see anything.'

Let me just say a word about 'equational sentences' and sentences with 'definite predicates'. I use neither of these terms in my model. What I do have are co-referential sentences--sentences consisting of two subject complements, as defined earlier. For example:

(T69) Si Luis ang laláking nákíta ko kagabí. 'Luis is the man I saw last night'

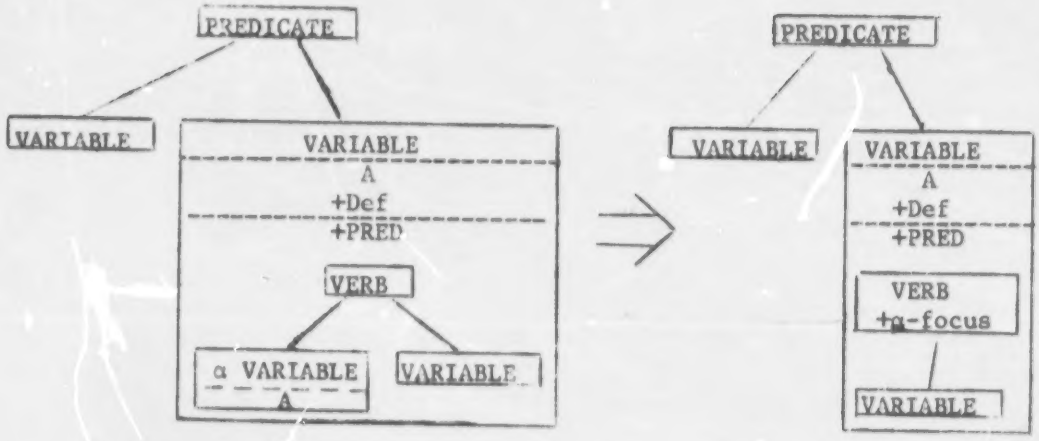
In this sentence si Luis is a nominative-form PRE, ang laláking nákíta ko kagabí is a nominative-form CRE. While it may be possible, in a specific context, to interpret one of these as the semantic predicate, it is more efficient, syntactically, to treat them as equivalent--neither is the subject nor the predicate. Rather, my interpretation would be that (1) si Luis has definite reference and refers to a particular file of information; (2) ang laláking nákíta ko kagabí also has definite reference and refers to a different (undoubtedly shorter) file of information; and (3) the actual message of the sentence is that the referent of si Luis and the referent of ang laláking nákíta ko kagabí are one and the same and, therefore, the two files should be combined into a single file. Co-referential sentences would be diagrammed as follows:



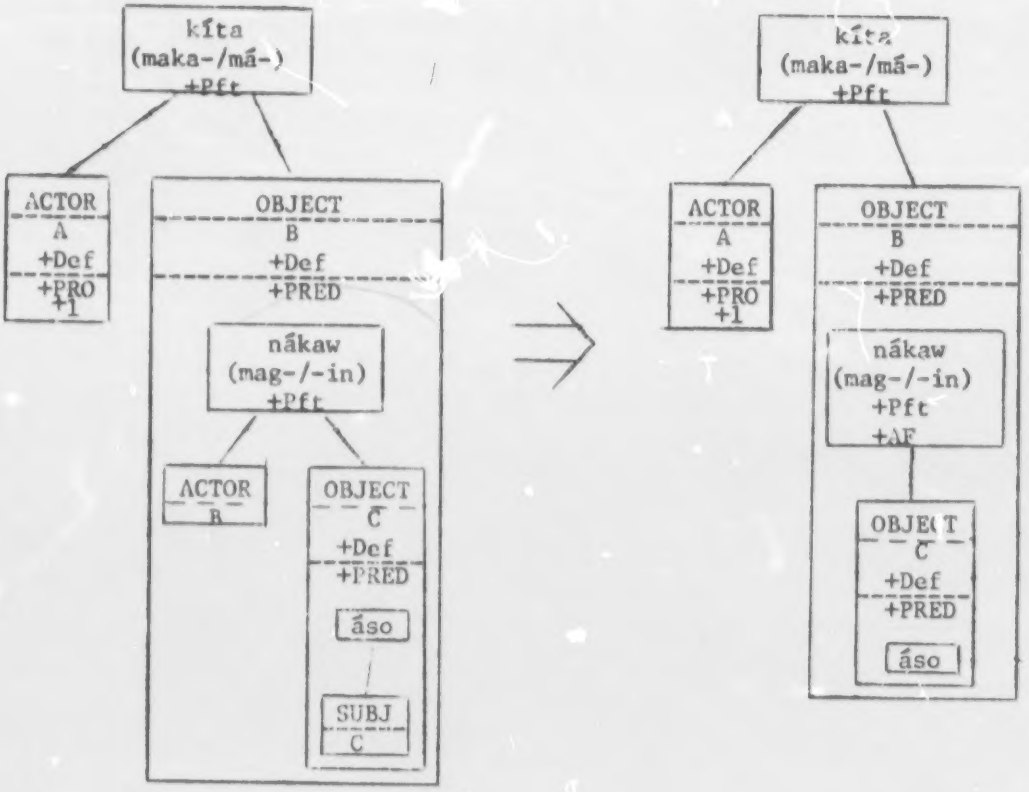
Having come this far, we are now ready to consider the tricky question of subject and verb-focus selection. We may find that it isn't quiete as tricky as we expected. Actually, we can account for a major portion of the problem with five fairly simple rules.

RULE 1. A relativized verb is in a focus which would be appropriate if the variable to which relativization applies were its subject (that variable is deleted).

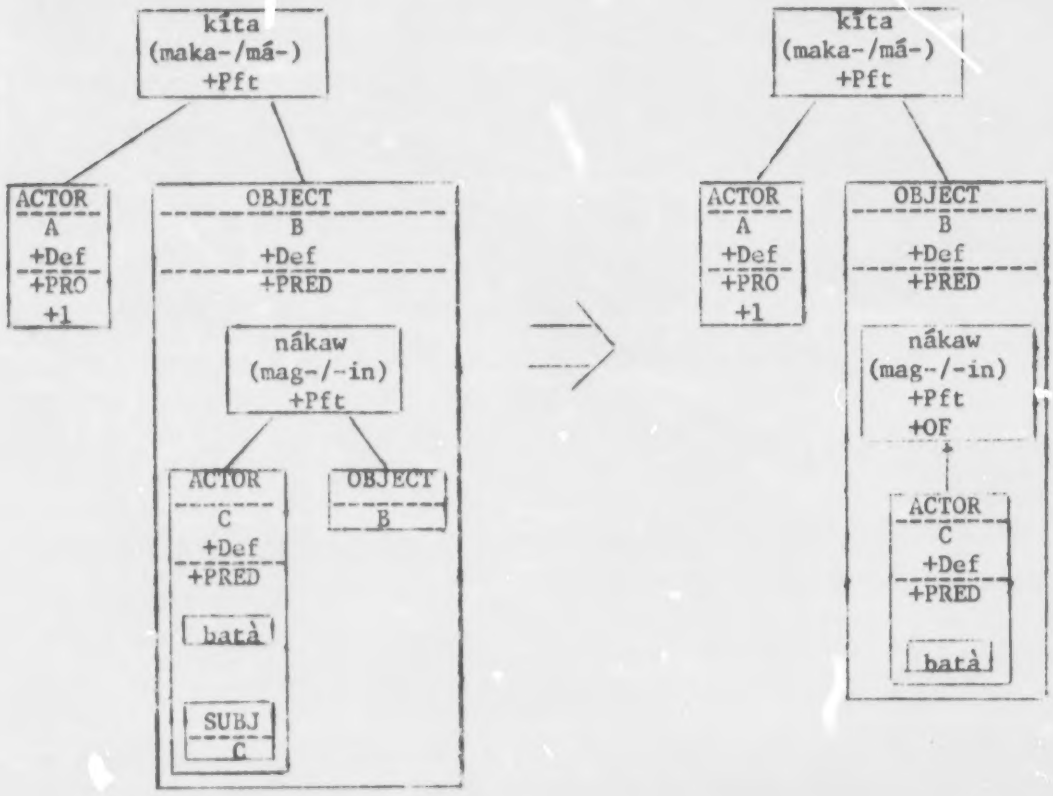
Stated schematically:



For example:



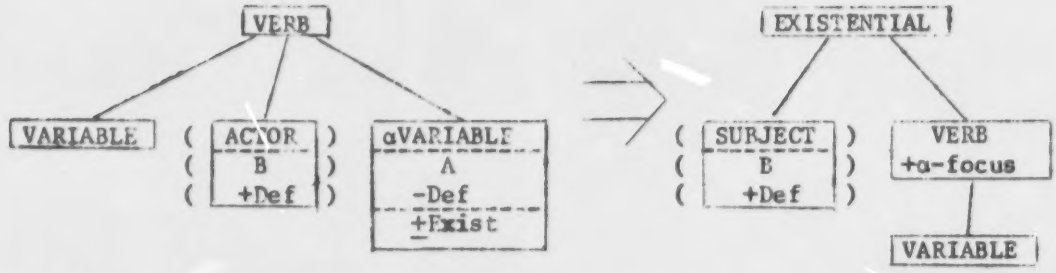
(Nákíta ko ang nagnákaw sa áso. 'I saw the one who stole the dog.')



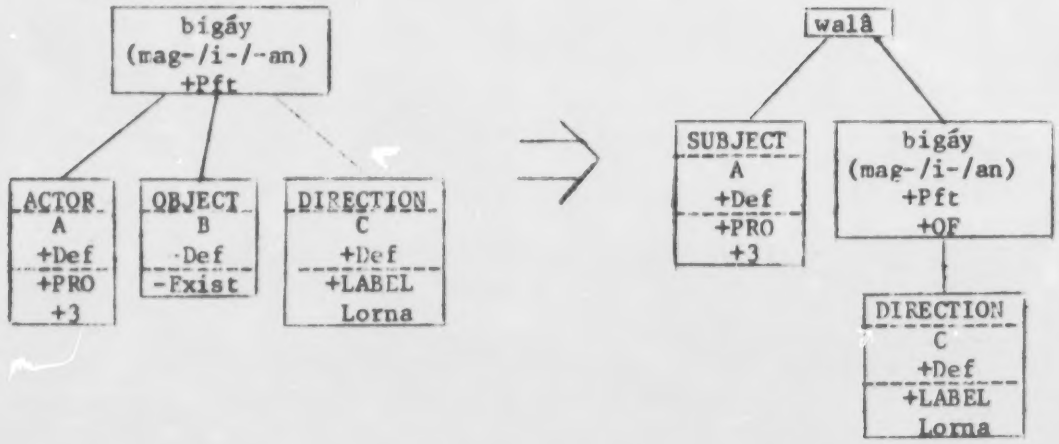
(Nákíta ko ang ninákaw ng batà. 'I saw the one that the child stole.')

RULE 2. If one of the variables of a predicate is marked '±Exist', the predicate is transformed into an existential predicate; the original predicate (if a verb) takes a focus which would be appropriate if the variable marked '±Exist' were its subject; that variable is deleted; and if a definite actor variable is associated with the original predicate, that variable becomes the subject of the existential.

Schematically:



For example:



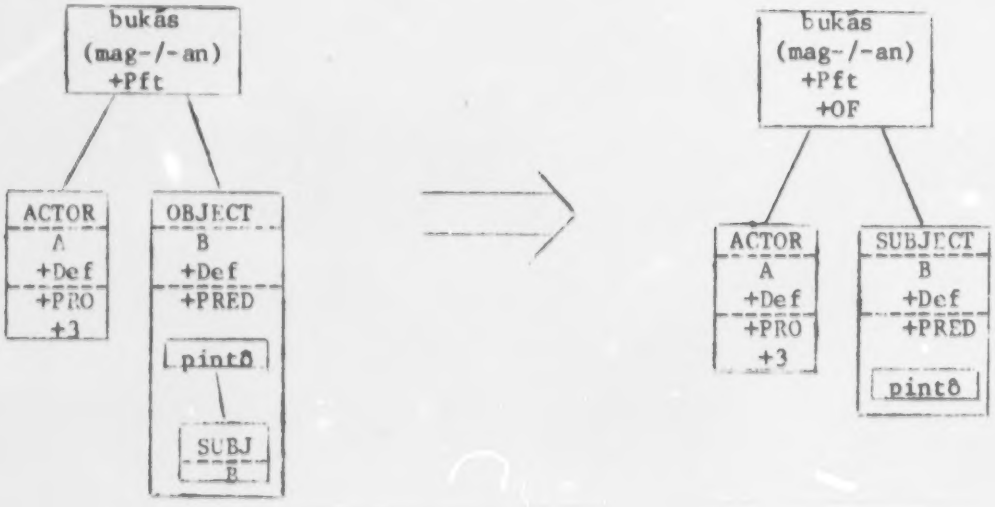
(Walâ siyáng ibinigáy kay Lorna. 'He didn't give Lorna anything.')

(May nakakíta sa iyó. 'Someone saw you.'

RULE 3. If (a) the verb is unrelativized, (b) none of its variables is marked +Exist', and (c) the object variable is marked '+Def', then the verb will be in object focus, and the object variable will be its subject.

Schematically:

For example:

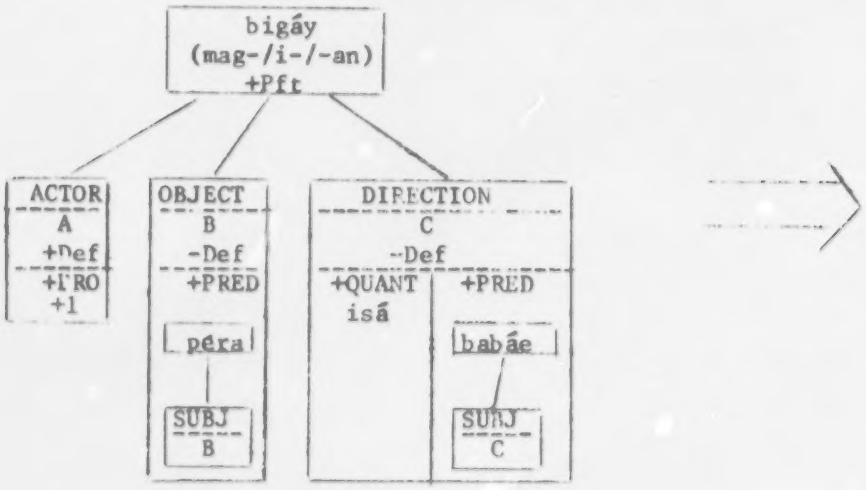


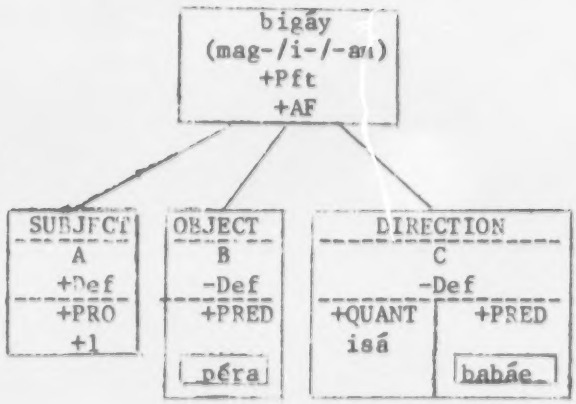
(Binuksán niyá ang pintô.~ 'He opened the door.')

RULE 4. If (a) the verb is unrelativized, (2) none of its variables is marked +Exist', (c) it does not have an object variable marked '+Def', and (d) only one other variable is marked '+Def', then that variable will be the subject, and the verb will have the appropriate focus.

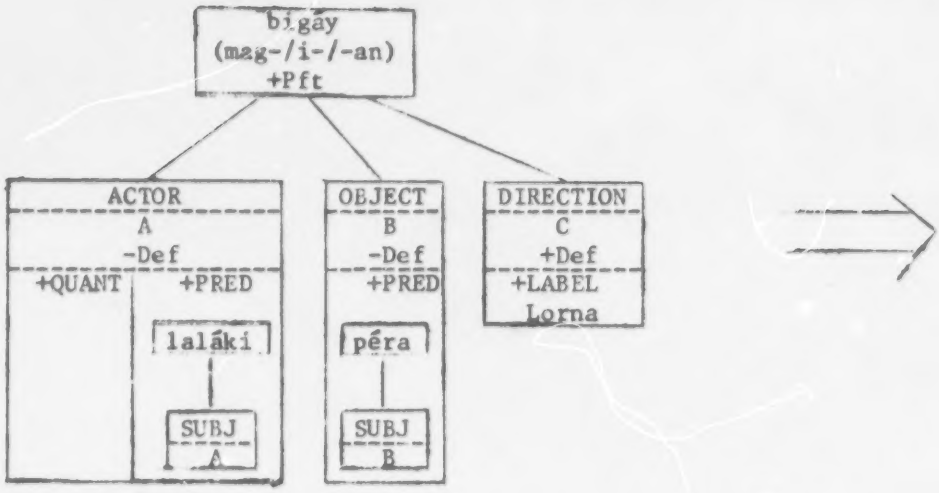
Schematically:

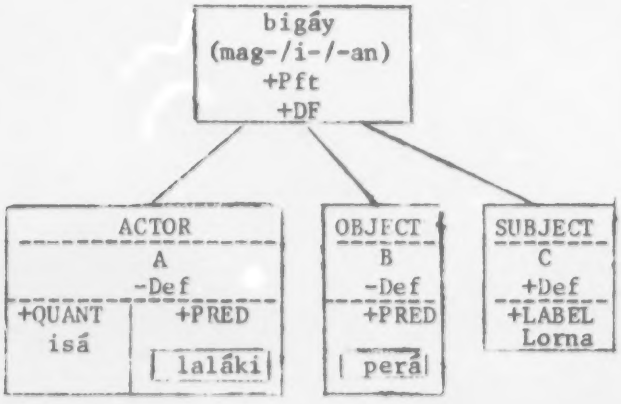
For example:





(Nagbigáy akó ng péra sa isáng babáe. 'I gave money to a woman.'

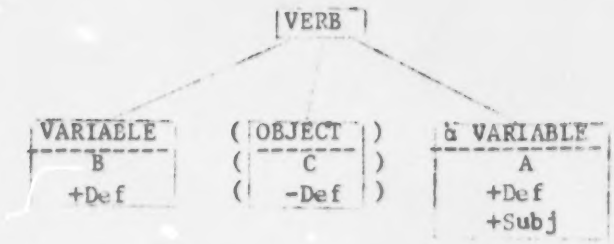


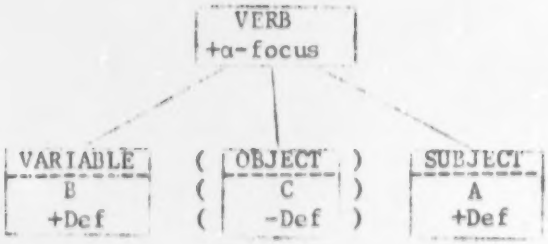


(Binigyán ng péra ng isáng laláki si Lorna. 'A man gave money to Lorna.')

RULE 5. If (a) the verb is unrelativized, (b) none of the variables is marked '+Exist', (c) there is no object variable marked '+Def', and (d) two or more other variables are marked '+Def', then one of these variables must be chosen as the subject, and marked '+Subj'.

Schematically:





For example:

(Tumúlong siyá kay Lorna. 'He helped Lorna.')

(Tinulúngan niyá si Lorna. 'He helped Lorna.')

This is as far as I will go, leaving at least this area of freedom for the speaker to select the sentence subject and verb focus. If we were to go on and explore the operation of reference and other matters within a discourse, we would find additional restrictions on this freedom. In many cases subject selection will be conditioned by the preceding context.

Also, my discussion here has avoided, or neglected, the more complex syntactic structures of Tagalog and other Philippine languages. The model presented is fairly skeletal. However, I am satisfied that the more complex structures can be handled in much the same manner.

Bikol and Tagalog are very closely related languages; it is not surprising that both submit to roughly the same analysis. However, from what I have studied and heard of other Philippine languages, it seems that much of the analysis presented here applies to many of them as well, even remotely related Philippine languages. This is apparently especially true of the constraint on definite object complements. I am eager to hear from students and speakers of other Philippine languages with regard to ways in which those languages resemble or differ from Tagalog in this matter--and of course, with regard to any criticism they may have of this analysis as it applies to Tagalog.

FOOTNOTES

[1]For example, Paul Schachter "The Subject in Philippine Languages: Topic, Actor, Actor-Topic, or None of the Above and Arthur Schwartz, 'On the Universality of Subjects: The Ilocano Case," both in Charles N Li, (ed.) Subject and Topic (New York: Academic Press, Inc. 1976).

[2]Charles J. Fillmore, "The Case for Case," in Emmon Bach and Robert T. Harms, Universals in Linguistic Theory (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), p. 55. The statement was made in reference to Maranao, a southern Philippine language which was taken to be representative of Philippine languages in general. As far as I know the constraint discussed here also applies to Maranao.

[3]There has been considerable discussion about what term should be applied to this particular constituent. In this paper I call it the 'subject'. Others call it the 'topic,' as in the Fillmore quote. Paul Schachter and Fe T. Otanes, Tagalog Reference Grammar (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972) use 'topic'. Howard McKaughan was one of the first to use the term 'topic' (The Inflection and Syntax of Maranao Verbs (Manila: Institute of National Language, 1958)), but has since returned to 'subject' ("Subject versus Topic" in Andrew B.

Gonzales (ed.), Parangal kay Cecilio Lopez (Quezon City: Linguistic Society of the Philippines, 1973)). Relational grammarians treat 'subject' as a universal given, which may or may not be this particular constituent (cf. the Schachter and Schwartz papers cited above). Some have opted for a third term, such as 'focused item' (e.g. Lou Hohulin and Austin Hale, "Notes on Keley-i Relational Grammar - I' Studies in Philippine Linguistics, Vol. I, No. 2, 1977).

I am myself guilty of some wavering on this matter. I used the term 'subject' in my dissertation, "The Dialects of the Bikol Area" (Yale, 1974). In my A Provisional Classification of Tagalog Verbs (Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo Gaikokugo Daigaku, 1976) I tried to stick close to the Schachter and Otanes terminology and therefore used 'topic'. Now I am back to 'subject'.

[4]The Tagalog data in this paper have been drawn from my personal study and use of the language during my current extended stay in Manila, and from a survey of written Tagalog in the course of preparing my Provisional Classification.

The transcription used follows the standard Tagalog orthography, with the addition of accents to indicate vowel length and glottal stop. This accentual system is similar to the one currently in use at the Institute of National Language. The essential points are as follows:

(C)V́CV(C) = /CV:CV(C)/ (e.g. péra = /pe:ra/)
(C)VC(C)V́(C) = /CVC(C)V(C)/ (e.g. kamí = /kami/)
(C)VCV̀ = /CV:CV?/ (e.g. batà = /ba:ta?/)
(C)VC(C)V̀ = /CVC(C)V?/ (e.g. pintô = /pintô?/)

Any word beginning (orthographically) with a vowel begins phonetically with a glottal stop; e.g. ákin = /?a:kin/. An orthographic sequence of vowels is separated by a glottal stop; e.g. babáe = /baba:?e/. A glottal stop following a consonant is indicated by a hyphen; e.g. mag-abót = /mag?abot/.

In the numbering of examples, 'T', 'B', and 'E', indicate Tagalog, Bikol, and English examples, respectively. In most cases, Tagalog and Bikol examples sharing the same number have the same English translation.

[5]The Bikol presented here is that spoken in Legaspi City. Except for some minor differences, this is virtually the same dialect spoken in Naga City and the majority of towns in Camarines Sur and Albay. The Bikol data were gathered during research for my dissertation, and also from my wife, Bendeth, who is a native of Bacacay, Albay.

The transcription is the same as for Tagalog. Note, however, that glottal stop clusters are indicated as follows:

(C)V̄-CV(C) = /CV?CV(C)/ (e.g. tà-wan = /ta?wan/)
/o/ and /u/ are not distinctive in Bikol; however, the standard orthography follows the Tagalog u-o spelling rule.

[6]Some of these reasons are brought out in the subsequent discussion of "Reference". See also Provisional Classification, p.3.

[7]The primary distinction is that ka is always enclitic, whereas ikâ can occur as the first element in a sentence or clause. The same distinction applies to Tagalog ka and ikáw.

[8]These forms are in free variation.

[9]Legaspi su = Naga si; Legaspi ki = Naga nin.

[10]See Dialects, p.

[11]This discussion essentially follows that found in Schacter and Otanes, pp. 71-81. However, my terminology is somewhat different. See Provisional Classification, pp. 6-8.

[12]Schachter and Otanes, p. 69.

[13]This discussion essentially follows Schachter and Otanes, pp. 293ff. Also see Provisional Classification, pp. 15-19.

[14]Schachter and Otanes, pp. 68-69.

[15]See Provisional Classification, pp. 4-5. The treatment here is quite different from that of Schachter and Otanes.

[16]The model presented in the conclusion of this paper does not contain 'underlying sentences'. The term is used here because it will be familiar and convenient to most readers.

[17]E.g. pumatáy 'to kill', Schachter and Otanes, pp. 299-300.

[18]Provisional Classification, p. 18; Schachter and Otanes, pp. 314ff.

[19]Cf. Teresita V. Ramos, The Case System of Tagalog Verbs (Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, Series B--No. 27, 1974), pp. 3-6.

[20]Teresita Ramos in her Case System has found some very interesting semantic criteria for distinguishing the various verb classes. However, a large number of verbs diverge from these criteria.

[21]Schachter and Otanes, p. 96. Actually there are a large number of subjects which might be treated as having an indefinite reading. However Schachter and Otanes' statement is true in most cases.

[22]Generic reference occurs only in a limited number of contexts; it does not play an important role in the subsequent discussion, which is primarily concerned with the distinction between definite and indefinite reference.

[23]Schachter and Otanes, p. 59: "The sentence types whose structure is outlined are considered basic for two reasons: first, they are, in general, the shortest and simplest types of complete sentences that occur in the language; second, the structure of other, more complex, types of sentences may be described as resulting from particular elaborations or combinations of elements from the basic sentence types."

[24]Since this discussion is quite long, and there are no critical differences between Tagalog and Bikol in this matter, the model will be presented only with regard to Tagalog.

[25]Provisional Classification, pp. 12-14; Schachter and Otanes, pp. 66-68.

[26]Provisional Classification, pp. 21-23; Schachter and Otanes, "Indirect-action verbs," pp. 321ff.

[27]Provisional Classification, pp. 19-21; Schachter and Otanes, "Ability and involuntary-action verb," pp. 330ff.

[28]Other pronouns are marked as follows:

akó 'I'	+1
ikáw 'you (sg)'	+2
siyá 'he, she'	+3
táyo 'we (incl)'	+12
kamí 'we (excl)'	+13
kayó 'you (pl)'	+23
silá 'they'	+33

PROTO-MANOBO *l IN AGUSAN MANOBO

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0. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to examine the reflexes of proto-Manobo *l in Agusan Manobo[1] with special attention to the vowel phonemes which have evolved in the environment of *l. In addition, other information will be given to supplement the previous description of Agusan Manobo phonology (Weaver and Weaver, 1963).

1. The Reflexes of *l in Other Manobo Languages

1.1 The Alveolar /l/ reflex of *l.

Proto-Manobo *l is manifested in various ways in the languages of the Manobo sub-group. The alveolar /l/ reflex of Proto-Manobo *l is found in all the Manobo languages, and in all Manobo languages other than Agusan Manobo the alveolar /l/ is the only reflex of *l which occurs in word-initial position.

1.2 Loss of *l.

In Obo[2] *l is lost intervocalically except where it occurs contiguous with /i/ or is preceded by the pepet vowel (see Section 1.4). The loss of *l is exemplified as follows:

*bulan > buan		'moon'
*sa(m)pulu > sapuu?		'ten'

Word-final *l is lost in Obo if it follows any vowel other than .i. or the pepet vowel (Elkins, 1974:624). In Dibabawon and Kinamingin,[2] intervocalic *l is lost except contiguous with /i/, and in Dibabawon, syllable-final *l is also lost. In word-final position Dibabawon has vowel gemination as a reflex of *l as is illustrated in Section 1.3.

1.3 Vowel Gemination.

Vowel gemination occurs in Dibabawon along with the loss of *l when *l occurs in word-final position (Forster, 1970:69) as is illustrated by the following:

*suhul	>	suhuu	'pay wages'
*tambal	>	tambaa	'medicine'

1.4 Lengthened /l/ reflex of *l.

A lengthened /l/ occurs in Cagayano[2], Tagabawa, and Obo when *l occurs intervocalically following the proto-pepet vowel. This is illustrated by the following:

*bəlad	>	bəllad	'hand'	(Tagabawa and Obo)
*(ta)təlu	>	tallu	'three'	(Cagayano)

Furthermore, in Tagabawa and Obo a lengthened /l/ occurs whenever *l occurs as a member of an intervocalic consonant cluster.

*?aldiw	>	?alliw	'day'	(Obo)
	>	?illo	'day'	(Tagabawa)
*tu?lid	>	tullid	'straight'	(Obo)

1.5 The Interdental Lateral Reflex of *l.

An interdental lateral[3] is one of the reflexes of the Proto-Manobo *l in Cagayano. It occurs in all environments except for the following: 1) word-initially, 2) contiguous to /i/, and 3) intervocalically when preceded by the pepet vowel. The interdental lateral reflex is illustrated by the following (Elkins, 1974:623):

*dalim	>	dalim	'deep'
*walu	>	walu	'eight'

2. The Reflexes of *l in Agusan Manobo

2.1 Alveolar /l/.

In Agusan Manobo, the alveolar /l/ is one reflex of *l but its distribution is limited to syllable-initial environments in which it is contiguous to /i/. The following serve to illustrate this.

*dukilim	>	dukilim	'night'
*lipiding	>	lipiding	'sleep'

2.2 /y/ as a Reflex of *l.

Unlike other Manobo languages, /y/ occurs as a reflex of *l in Agusan Manobo. It occurs in all environments except contiguous to /i/ (Section 2.1) and in syllable-final position (Section 2.3). Examples of the /y/ reflex include the following:

*palad	>	payad	'palm of the hand'
*libing	>	yibing	'bury'

Because an alveolar /l/ also occurs in Agusan Manobo as a reflex of the Proto-Manobo *r, and because of the acquisition of borrowed words, /y/ can be seen to contrast with /l/ as in the following:

piya?	'cat'	pila	'how many'
yabi	'especially'	laba	'wash clothes'

2.3 Vowel Phonemes in the Environment of *l.

It has been demonstrated in the previous section that /y/ is a reflex of *l and that it occurs in syllable-initial position when not contiguous to /i/. However, when the /y/ which is a reflex of *l occurs between two identical vowel phonemes, or when *l occurs in syllable-final position, certain vowel shifts occur. Between identical vowels the following shifts occur:

*dala	>	daya	>	dæ	'to carry'
*sala	>	saya	>	sæ	'fault'
*silim	>	masiyim	>	masɛm	'morning'
*silid	>	siyid	>	sɛd	'enter'

*pu̇us	>	puyus	> püs	'purpose'
*ulungan	>	uyungan	> üngan	'bank a fire'

The intermediate form of each of the examples given above has the canonical shape, $CV_1.yV_1(C)$. (C)(V)(C) where $V_1 \neq i$. The resultant forms show fronting, loss of /y/ and vowel loss.[1] Each of the original vowels shifts from a central or back position to a front position while maintaining more or less constant vowel height[4] and degree of rounding.

When *l occurs in syllable-final position, it is lost, fronting any immediately preceding vowel other than /i/.

*tambal	>	tambæ	'medicine'
*haldi̇k	>	hædi̇k	'fear'
*habi̇l	>	habe	'weave cloth'
*suhul	>	suhü	'pay wages'
*hagsil	>	hagsi	'cold'

The vowels resulting from these shifts will be discussed in the following sections.

3. The /æ/ Phoneme

3.1 A Previous Study.

Weaver and Weaver (1963) posit five vowel phonemes: /a, æ, i, i̇, and u/. This result was based on research conducted in the Adgawan dialect while the data in this paper represents the Umayam dialect. Weaver and Weaver have demonstrated that /æ/, a low close front unrounded vocoid, is a phoneme in Agusan Manobo.

3.2 Contrasts.

The following are examples of contrast between /æ/ and the other vowel phonemes:

(æ≠a)	kæju	'fire'	kaju	'wood'
	hædi̇k	'fear'	hadi̇k	'kiss'
(æ≠i)	sæ	'fault'	si	'noun marker'
	gagæ	'floor joist'	kagi	'word'
(æ≠i)	ʔædi̇w	'day'	ʔi̇ti̇w	'person'
	sæpi	'silver'	si̇pi?	'hand of bananas'
(æ≠e)	dæg	'fallen leaf'	deg	'bound for'
	ʔayungæ	'corn cob'	bi̇nge	'deaf'
(æ≠u)	dæga	'maiden'	dugi	'thorn'
	bæbag	'crosspiece'	bujag	'old lady'
(æ≠ü)	buhæ	(mild oath)	suhü	'pay wages'
	kæmag	'wind'	kümgan	'bird cage'

3.3 Comparison with Proto-Manobo.

The following is a comparison of Agusan /æ/ with its sources within Proto-Manobo.

	Proto-Manobo	Agusan Manobo	
1.	*haldi̱k / *handi̱k	hædi̱k	'ear'
2.	*ʔaldi̱w / *ʔandi̱w	ʔædi̱w	'day'
3.	*dala	daya / dæ	'bring'
4.	*balagi̱n	bægi̱n	'rattan'
5.	*karamag	kæmag	'wind'
6.	*tambal	tambaya / tambæ	'medicine'
7.	*kindal	kindæ	'skin'

The /æ/phoneme is a result of the processes of fronting, loss of /y/, and vowel reduction. It has developed from *a in the environment *ala and in the environment preceding syllable-final *l. It has also developed from *a in the environment *ara, as in *karamag > kæmag 'wind'.

In certain words where *l occurs in a final syllable, fronting of the vowel is optional and the /æ/ phoneme may alternate with the sequence /aya/ as in the following examples:

tambæ / tambaya		'medicine'
dæ / daya		'bring'
gæs / gayas		'cut underbrush'

In situations such as these, /æ/ is often considered to be the more colloquial usage.

There is also an optional morphophonemic occurrence of /æ/ when a stem beginning with /ya/ co-occurs with a prefix ending in /a/, as in the following:

ma	+ yahag	becomes	mayahag / mæhag	'yellow'
naka	+ yangki̱b	becomes	nakayangki̱b / nakængki̱b	'fall on one's face'

4. The /ü/ Phoneme

A second vowel illustrating the development of an Agusan Manobo vowel phoneme in the environment of *l is /ü/, a high close front unrounded vocoid.

4.1 Contrasts.

(ü≠a)	ʔamü	'suck'	ʔuma	'farm'
	ʔüngan	'bank a fire'	ʔangi̱d	'same'
(ü≠æ)	küngan	'bird cage'	kæmag	'wind'
	suhü	'pay wages'	buhæ	(mild oath)
(ü≠i)	ʔüngan	'bank a fire'	ʔinggad	'even'
	ʔamu	'suck'	ʔani	'harvest rice'

(ü/i)	tungü	'insides'	mingi	(pluralizer)
	?üngan	'bank a fire'	?inim	'six'
(ü/u)	?agbü	'save one's self from drowning'	tagbu	'meet'
	bubü	'hair'	bubu	'piece of fishing equipment'
(ü/e)	?amü	'suck'	dame	'thick'
	püs	'benefit'	bes	'borrow'

4.2 Comparison with Proto-Manobo.

The following examples trace the /ü/ phoneme in Agusan Manobo back to its sources within Proto-Manobo.

	Proto-Manobo	Agusan Manobo		
1.	*kambul	kambü	/ kambi	'basket'
2.	*suhul	suhü	/ suhi	'pay wages'
3.	*bulbul	bubü	/ bubi	'hair'
4.	*kulungan	küngan	/ kuyungan	'bird cage'
5.	*?ulungan	?üngan	/ ?uyungan	'embers'
6.	*pulus	püs	/ puyus	'benefit'

The phoneme /ü/ developed from *u by the same processes that have already been discussed with reference to the phoneme /ə/. It appears, however, that the rules which give rise to /ü/ apply only once per word. Thus, while one might otherwise expect a form /bübü/ to develop from the Proto-Manobo form, *bulbul, what actually develops is /bubü/. Thus far no words have been found in which there occurs more than one of the vowels which have developed in association with *1, except in the case of reduplicated stems.

Some speakers of Agusan Manobo substitute /i/ for /ü/ in word final position and /uyu/ elsewhere. The use of the /ü/ phoneme is more common in the remote mountainous regions than in the lowlands.

5. The /e/ Phoneme

A third vowel phoneme resulting from the previously mentioned processes is /e/, a mid, close to open, front unrounded vocoid.

5.1 Contrasts.

The following examples illustrate the contrasts that establish /e/ as a phoneme for Agusan Manobo:

(e/a)	ped	'cut down a tree'	pad	'yet, still'
	bake	'thumb'	baka	'cow'
(e/ə)	deg	'go somewhere'	dəg	'fallen leaf'
	bénge	'deaf'	?ayungə	'corn cob'
(e/i)	betu	'canoe'	bitu	'hole'
	kabe	'weave cloth'	?abi	'lip'

(e≠i)	begbig	'throw'	bigbig	'diligence'
	binge	'deaf'	mingi	(pluralizer)
(e≠u)	bes	'borrow'	kabus	'poor'
	?ibe	'smoke'	tibu	'sugar cane'
(e≠ü)	deme	'thick'	?amü	'suck'
	bes	'borrow'	püs	'benefit'

5.2 Comparison with Proto-Manobo.

The following examples trace the /e/ phoneme back to its sources within Proto-Manobo.

	Proto-Manobo	Agusan Manobo	
1.	*dakil	dake	'big'
2.	*?ibil	?ibe	'smoke'
3.	*habil	habe	'weave cloth'
4.	*silim	masem / masiyim	'morning'
5.	*bilis	bes	'borrow'

These examples illustrate the development of the /e/ phoneme from Proto-Manobo *i. The processes at work here involve fronting, loss of /y/, and vowel reduction in much the same way as for the phonemes /æ/ and /ü/. The phoneme /e/ has been observed to have the allophone [ɛ] in final closed syllables preceding a stop or nasal in examples such as the following:

[kasɛm]	/kasem/	'tomorrow'
[sɛd]	/sed/	'enter'

The process of fronting, loss and vowel reduction is optional in words where the /e/ phoneme has developed as a reflex of intervocalic *l, as in the following:

kasem /	kasiyim	'tomorrow'
sed /	siyid	'enter'

In one recorded example, the sequence /ayu/ has been observed to fluctuate with /e/:

betu /	bayutu	'canoe'

An allophone of /e/ that is used by some speakers is [ö], a mid front rounded vocoid which freely alternates with [e] in word-final position:

[kibe /	kibö] /kibe/	'dark cloud'
[?ibe /	?ibö] /?ibe/	'smoke'

6. Other Phonemes

6.1 Vowel Phonemes.

Vowel phonemes other than /æ, ü, and e/, which are discussed above, are /a, i, u, and i/. The phoneme /a/ is a low open central unrounded

vocoid; /ɨ/ is a high to mid close central unrounded vocoid; /u/ is a high close back rounded vocoid, ranging from high to mid in word-final syllables and in certain loan words; and /i/ is a high front unrounded vocoid which varies from close to open when preceding a stop in closed syllables.

6.2 Consonant Phonemes.

In addition to these seven vowel phonemes, there are seventeen consonant phonemes. The stops are /p, t, k, ʔ, b, d, and g/.[5] The continuant consonants are /r, l, s, h, j, m, n, ng, w, and y/.

The voiced alveopalatal affricate [ǰ] is a phoneme in the Umayam dialect but does not occur in the Adgawan dialect. The following illustrates contrast between /j/ and /d/ in the Umayam dialect:

gɨda	'deserve'	gɨja	'forehead'
kaju	'wood'	kadung	'puppy'

6.3 Stress.

Stress is also phonemic in Agusan Manobo. The following pairs are offered as evidence:

'yutuʔ	'to cook'	yu'tuʔ	'blister'
'bilas	'matter in eye'	bi'las	'relationship to spouse of brother/sister-in-law'
'buhiʔ	'domestic animals'	bu'hiʔ	'alive'
'kayuʔ	'hat'	ga'yuʔ	'lie'

FOOTNOTES

[1]The basis of this study is Elkins, 1974, from which most of the examples of Proto-Manobo have been taken. The Agusan Manobo language consists of several dialects scattered geographically throughout the provinces of Agusan del Sur and Surigao del Sur in northeastern Mindanao. The data presented in this paper are a result of seven months of field research at Kasapa Dos, La Paz, Agusan del Sur under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The authors wish to acknowledge the assistance of Jan Forster and Andrew Gallman in the preparation of this study.

[2]Obo, Tagbawaw, and Dibabawon are Manobo languages of Davao Province. Cagayano is a language spoken on Cagayancillo Island, and Kinamingin is spoken on Camiguin Island. Both have roots in the Manobo sub-group of Philippines languages.

[3]It is conceivable that this interdental lateral may be the proto *l of Manobo languages.

[4]The vowel height of /ɨ/ varies from high to mid, but mid seems to be the basic position. See Section 6.1.

[5]A description of the other consonant phonemes of Agusan Manobo may be found in Weaver and Weaver, 1963: 3-5.

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KAAGAN-KALAGAN PHONEMIC STATEMENT

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0. Introduction

Kalagan-Kaagan is a member of the South Eastern Mindanao Group of languages of the Southern Philippine family. Several groups living in the Cotabato and Davao provinces of Mindanao refer to themselves as Kalagans. The exact number of Kalagan-Kaagans is uncertain. McFarland 1977 estimates Kalagans different from Tagakoulus to be about 6000 on the basis of the 1970 Census of the Philippines.

According to Gallman 1977 Kalagan-Kaagan and Kalagan-Tagakoulu, which share 72% cognates, belong to the Western Subgroup of the South Eastern Mindanao Group. The other member of this subgroup is Islam-Mandaya, which share 69% cognates with the two Kalagan dialects.

This study is based on the dialect spoken in Hagunoy, a municipality with about 400 Kalagan-Kaagans.[1] We spent about six months of 1977 among the Kalagan-Kaagans in Leling, Hagunoy, a barrio with about 50 households. Our language assistant was Mr. Bibiano Enangkile, barrio captain, 50 years old. Both his parents were Kalagan-Kaagans. He also speaks fluent Visayan and English. Visayan influence is strong in the area, and the younger generation seems to be losing their language.

1. Phonemics

1.1 Syllable

The syllable consists of one vowel as syllable peak and consonants as optional onset and/or coda. The syllable is the minimal phonological unit that can occur in isolation. There are four non-suspect syllable patterns:

V	/'qɨ.a/	live
VC	/ma.'ɨm/	deep
CV	/'da/	already
CVC	/'kun/	if

Of these patterns CV and CVC are most common. V and VC are not found word initially.

1.2 Phonological word

A phonological word is a sequence of syllables marked by the occurrence of primary stress. One syllable particles do not carry primary stress. Phonological words of from one to six syllables have been observed.

/pa/	still (particle)
/'bɨy/	house
/'qu.bɨ/	monkey
/ka.'kɨ.naq/	'weapon'
/tim.ba.ba.'kɨ/	'thumb'
/pig.ʔu.a.ra.'an/	'taught'
/ki.na.ra.'ya.wan/	'best'
/piŋ.pa.ka.ra.ku.'a.qan/	'enlarged'

1.3 Length and stress

1.3.1 Stress carrying length[2]

Stress carries length in open syllables.

('ɨ:.sɨg)	child, boy
('pa:.naw)	walk
(ma.tɨ.'gɨ:)	stubborn

Length in these syllables can be the result of a reduction.

+ dala	('dɨ:)	carry, govern

But in the case of many long, open syllables no reduction has taken place.

+ ama	('qa:.ma)	mother
+ eseg	('qɨ:.sɨg)	boy

Where length occurs in closed syllables we presume the length to be the result of a reduction of two or more syllables.

+ alad	('qa:d)	fence
+ malalag	('mɨ:g)	yellow
+ kulun	('ku:n)	clay pot

1.3.2 Degree of stress

There are two degrees of stress, primary (') and secondary ("). A polysyllabic word has one primary stress and if there are three syllables preceding the primary stressed one, also a secondary stress.

("tim.ba.ba.'kɨ:)	thumb
("ka.qa.ba.'kan)	abaka plantation

1.3.3 Change of stress with affixation

a) Roots with penultimate stress and length retains the penultimate stress position when suffixed. The length follows the stress.

('ba:ŋaq)	(ba'na:qɨn)	bite
('ba:sa)	(ba'sa:ɨn)	read

b) When roots with penultimate stress and no length are suffixed, the stress moves to the ultimate position. The suffix gets length.

('qagbaq)	(qagbaq'ɨ:n)	destroy
('qatuuq)	(qatuuq'u:n)	fill

c) With prefixation no changes in stress and length occur.

('ba:sa)	(ma'ba:sa)	read
('qagbaq)	('magbaq)	destroy

1.3.4 Length is non-phonemic

Length does not survive without stress and is considered non-phonemic.

1.4 Interpretation of the semivowels (i) and (u)

When syllabic, (i) and (u) are interpreted as vowels /i/ and /u/. When non-syllabic they are interpreted as consonants /y/ and /w/.

Interpretation of syllabicity is dependent upon syllable pattern pressure.

When the semivowel follows a consonant which does not close the syllable, preceding it, the semivowel is interpreted as syllabic.

/bu.an/	'month'	/qa.gung/	'gong'
/ni.'a.naw/	'went'		

When the semivowel follows a consonant which closes the syllable preceding it, the semivowel is interpreted as non-syllabic.

/'ban.wa/	'land'	/ba.'lig.ya/	'sell'

When the semivowel is syllable initial, and followed by a vowel, it is interpreted as non-syllabic.

/qa.'sa.wa/	'spouse'	/'ya.ni/	'this'

When the semivowels is word final, following a vowel, it is interpreted as nonsyllabic.

/bɨy/	'house'	/'baw.baw/	'talk'

1.5 Phonemes: Contrast and description

There are nineteen phonemes in Kaagan-Kalagan: fourteen consonants and five vowels.[3] The consonants are: p, t, k, q, b, d, g, m, n, ŋ, s, l, w, y, and the vowels are: i, e, ɨ, a, u.

1.5.1 Evidence for separation of phonemes.

Following are pairs that show the contrast between phonemes.

1.5.1.1 Consonants

p/b	(pɨ'ngɨt)	/pɨ'ngɨt/	beard
	('bɨngɨt)	/'bɨngɨt/	wrestle
	(qa'bux)	/qa'bus/	finish
	('ga:pus)	/'gapus/	tangle
	('qabwab)	/'qabwab/	weed
	('qapwap)	/'qawap/	comfort
t/d	(da'naw)	/da'naw/	lake
	(ta'naw)	/ta'naw/	see
	(qa'ru:n)	/qa'run/	today
	(qa'tu:n)	/qa'tun/	fire
	('ma:wat)	/'mawat/	far
	('ma:wid)	/'mawid/	hold
k/g	('ka:bi)	/'kabi/	bag
	(ga'bi)	/ga'bi/	night
	('ba:ga)	/'baga/	coal
	('ba:kaq)	/'bakaq/	mouth
	('kallɨk)	/'kallɨk/	afraid
	('kallɨg)	/'kallɨg/	hurry
k/q	('kadtu)	/'kadtu/	go there
	('qadtu)	/'qadtu/	there
	(ka'qa:nad)	/ka'qanad/	addicted
	(ka'ka:naq)	/ka'kanaq/	weapon
	('lintiq)	/'lintiq/	lightening
	('liktik)	/'liktik/	raindrop
Ø/q	('ba:qu)	/'baqu/	coconut husk
	('ba:u)	/'bau/	provision
	('bauq)	/'bauq/	smell
	('ba:u)	/'bau/	provision
t/q	('tubu)	/'tubu/	sugarcane
	('qubu)	/'qubu/	cough
	('ba:to)	/'batu/	throw
	('ba:qu)	/'baqu/	coconut husk
	(mig'dɨ:t)	/mig'dɨt/	hunt
	(mig'dɨ:q)	/mig'dɨq/	give
m/n	('man)	/'man/	also
	('nan)	/'nan/	he
	(qu'mu)	/qu'mu/	life
	('qunu)	/'qunu/	what,how
	(qi'tin)	/qi'tin/	gentleman
	(mai'tim)	/mai'tim/	black
ŋ/n	(na:n)	/'ŋan/	name
	('nan)	/'nan/	he
	('daŋaw)	/'daŋaw/	fingermeasure
	('danaw)	/'danaw/	side (of water)
	('qa:run)	/'qarun/	waste
	(qa'ru:n)	/qa'run/	today

m/n	(ŋa:n)	/'ŋan/	name
	('man)	/'man/	also
	('tiŋ̇g)	/'tiŋ̇g/	voice
	(di'mi̇:g)	/di'mi̇g/	continue
n/l	(la'tiq)	/la'tiq/	field
	('na:ti)	/'nati/	calf
	(ka'ni:lan)	/ka'nilan/	their
	(ka'li:lan)	/ka'lilan/	joyful noise
	('ku:bal)	/'kubal/	hard skin on hands
	(ku'ma:n)	/ku'man/	eat
d/l	('li̇mli̇m)	/'li̇mli̇m/	cover with wings and body
	('di̇mdi̇m)	/'di̇mdi̇m/	think
	('pi:liq)	/'piliq/	choose
	(qi̇'di̇:)	/qi̇'di̇:/	long drum
	('ku:bal)	/'kubal/	hard skin
	('qu:bad)	/qubad/	loosen
l/r	(da'gi̇s)	/da'gi̇s/	heatrash
	(la'gi̇s)	/la'gi̇s/	floor
	(pa'li:q)	/pa'liq/	wound
	(ka'ri:q)	/ka'riq/	is that so
	('ku:bal)	/'kubal/	hard skin
	('qu:bad)	/'qubad/	loosen
w/b	('wak)	/wak/	crow
	('baka)	/'baka/	cow
	(laway)	/'laway/	saliva
	(la'bay)	/la'bay/	pass
	('kaw)	/'kaw/	you
	(ka'gabkab)	/ka'gabkab/	sound of wings flying

1.5.1.2 Vowels

i/i̇	('qisi̇q)	/'qisi̇q/	child
	(qi̇'si̇:g)	/qi̇'si̇g/	boy
	('si̇paq)	/'si̇paq/	chew
	('si:paq)	/'sipaq/	kick
	(mati̇'gi̇)	/mati̇'gi̇/	stubborn
	('ti:giq)	/'tigiq/	test,trial
u/i̇	(qi̇'bi̇)	/qi̇'bi̇/	smoke
	(qu'bi̇)	/qu'bi̇/	monkey
	('ki̇:baw)	/'ki̇baw/	carabao
	('ku:baw)	/'kubaw/	turban
	('qubu)	/'qubu/	cough
	('qubi̇)	/'qubi̇/	monkey
a/i̇	(qi̇'si̇:g)	/qi̇'si̇g/	boy
	(qa'sag)	/qa'sag/	pour
	('li̇bbak)	/'li̇bbak/	split husk
	('li̇bbi̇k)	/'li̇bbi̇k/	pound rice
	(qa'ba)	/qa'ba/	chest
	(qi̇'bi̇)	/qi̇'bi̇/	smoke

u/a	('layug)	/'layug/	fly
	('layag)	/'layag/	sail
	('pu:suq)	/'pusuq/	heart
	('pa:suq)	/'pasuq/	hot
	(qu'bu)	/qu'bu/	cough
	(qa'ba)	/qa'ba/	chest
i/a	('qidtu)	/'qidtu/	just there
	('qadtu)	/'qadtu/	there
	(qa'ligi)	/qa'ligi/	wall-post
	(qa'lagaq)	/qa'lagaq/	watch
	(ka'mani)	/ka'mani/	get(beneficiary, focus)
	(ka'mana)	/ka'mana/	get(object, focus)
ɛ/i	('sɛlɛk)	/'sɛlɛk/	corner of mouth
	('silin)	/'silin/	imitate
	(pa'sɛlɛ)	/pa'sɛlɛ/	make sign with eyes
	(pigsa'lili)	/pigsa'lili/	replace

1.5.2 Description of phonemes and their allophones

/p/ is a voiceless bilabial stop.

(pi'nit)	/pi'nit/	beard
('ga:pus)	/'gapus/	tangle
('qapwap)	/'qapwap/	comfort

/b/ is a voiced bilabial stop.

('binit)	/'binit/	wrestle
(qa'bus)	/qa'bus/	finish
('qabwab)	/'qabwab/	weed

/t/ is a voiceless dental stop.

(ta'naw)	/ta'naw/	see
(qa'tu:n)	/qa'tun/	fire
('ma:wat)	/'mawat/	far

/d/ is a voiced dental stop.

(da'naw)	/da'naw/	lake

/d/ has the following allophones:
(d) is a voiced dental stop. It occurs word initial and word final. Intevocalically it is in free fluctuation with (r).
(r) is a voiced alveolar flap.

(da'naw)	/da'naw/	lake
(qa'ru:n)	/qa'run/	today
('ma:wid)	/'mawid/	hold

/k/ is a voiceless velar stop.

('kadtu)	/'kadtu/	go there
('ba:kaq)	/'bakaq/	mouth
('kallik)	/'kallik/	afraid

/g/ is a voiced velar stop.

(ga'bi)	/ga'bi/	night
('ba:ga)	/'baga/	coal
('kalig)	/'kallig/	hurry

/q/ is a glottal stop.

('qadtu)	/'qadtu/	there
('ba:qu)	/'baqu/	coconut husk
('bauq)	/'bauq/	smell

Utterance final all stops are unreleased.

The voiceless stops might have a slight aspiration word initially for emphasis.

('khi̇baw)	/ki̇baw/	carabao

/m/ is a voiced bilabial nasal.

('man)	/'man/	also
(di'mi̇g)	/di'mi̇g/	continue
('di̇mdi̇m)	/'di̇mdi̇m/	think

/n/ is a voiced alveolar nasal.

('na:ti)	/'nati/	calf
(ka'ni:lan)	/ka'nilan/	their
(ku'ma:n)	/ku'man/	eat

/ŋ/ is a voiced velar nasal.

(ŋa:n)	/'ŋan/	name
('ti:ŋi̇g)	/'tiŋi̇g/	voice
('ti̇ntiŋ)	/'ti̇ŋtiŋ/	see

/s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative.

('sambuk)	/'sambuk/	one
('qisi̇q)	/'qisi̇q/	child
('ba:ras)	/'baras/	stick

/l/ is a voiced alveolar lateral.

(la'tiq)	/la'tiq/	field
(ka'li:lan)	/ka'lilan/	joyful noise
('ku:bal)	/'kubal/	hard skin on hands

/y/ is a voiced unrounded palatal semivowel.

('yan)	/yan/	that
('bayad)	/'bayad/	buy
('bi̇y)	/'bi̇y/	house

/w/ is a voiced rounded semivowel.

('wak)	/'wak/	crow
('laway)	/'laway/	saliva
('kaw)	/'kaw/	you

Vowels [4]

/i/ has two allophones (i) and (ɪ).[5]

(i) is a high, close, unrounded vowel. It is found in long, stressed syllables preceding ŋ or another vowel.

(ta'pi:ŋi̇n)	/ta'piŋi̇n/	dirty
('bi:a)	/'bia/	princess

(ɪ) is a high slightly retracted unrounded vowel. It is found elsewhere.

('sɪlɪŋ)	/'silin/	imitate
(pɪgsa'lɪlɪ)	/pigsa'lili/	replace

/ɛ/ has two allophones (æ) and (ɛ).
(æ) is a low open, unrounded front vowel. It is found in long, stressed syllables following /m/.

(mæ:)	/'mɛ/	old lady

(ɛ) is a mid open unrounded front vowel. It is found elsewhere.

('sɛlɛk)	/'sɛlɛk/	corner of mouth
(pa'sɛlɛ)	/pa'sɛlɛ/	make sign with eyes

/ɨ/ has two allophones (ə) and (ɨ).
(ə) is a mid close unrounded central vowel. It is found in stressed syllables word final preceding /q/.

(mi'wə:q)	/mi'wɨq/	lost
(mika'sə:q)	/mika'sɨq/	sinned

(ɨ) is a high close, unrounded central vowel. It is found elsewhere.

(pɨ'nɨt)	/pɨ'nɨt/	beard
('qisɨq)	/'qisɨq/	child

/a/ has two allophones (ɑ) and (ʌ).
(ɑ) is an open unrounded central vowel. It is found in stressed syllables and in unstressed syllables preceding (w) and (y).

('qɑ:kus)	/'qakus/	bamboo
(mʌ'lu:gɑy)	/ma'lugay/	late
('qu:tɑw)	/'qutaw/	man

(ʌ) is a mid open unrounded central vowel. It is found elsewhere.

(mʌ'tas)	/ma'tas/	tall
(mʌlʌ'miq)	/mala'miq/	tasty

/u/ has two allophones (u) and (o).
(u) is a close rounded back vowel.
(o) is a mid close rounded back vowel. (o) is only found in word final syllable except when followed by the same vowel.

(to'qo)	/tu'qu/	true

In word final syllable (o) and (u) are in fluctuation.

(a'ku:)/(a'ko:)	/a'ku/	I
(ma'pa:suq)/(ma'pa:soq)	/ma'pasu/	hot

(u) is found in all non-final syllables.

(qu'bɨ)	/qu'bɨ/	monkey
('kubaw)	/'kubaw/	turban

1.6 Distribution of vowels
1.6.1 There are no word initial vowels.
All vowels occur word medial and word final with the following restrictions:
a) /i/, /ɛ/ and /u/ are not found after /ɨ/.
b) /ɨ/ and /a/ are not found after /ɛ/.
c) When first vowel of a root is /ɨ/, second is most often /ɨ/.
d) When the first vowel of a root is /ɛ/, second is most often /ɛ/.

1.6.2 Vowel-harmony

When /ɨ/ is the result of a reduction from /ala/ and the following syllable had /a/ this is changed to /ɨ/ also.

+malatay	/mɨ'tɨy/	bad
+kalamdag	/'kɨmdɨg/	morning

When the reduction results in /a:/ no change occurs in the following vowel.

+ka'lagan	/'ka:gan/	Kalagan
+ka'ladag	/'ka:sag/	spear

1.6.3 Bisyllabic vowel clusters

The following vowel clusters have been found so far:

V_1 \ V_2	i	ɨ	a	u
i		1	2	3
ɨ			4	
a	5	6		7
u		8	9	

V_1 is initial vowel. V_2 is final vowel.

1	(li'ɨg)	/li'ɨg/	neck
2	('bia)	/'bia/	princess
3	(qi'ug)	/qi'ug/	coconut
4	('qɨa)	/'qɨa/	live
5	('laiŋ)	/'laiŋ/	other
6	(ma'ɨm)	/ma'ɨm/	deep
7	('lauŋ)	/'lauŋ/	speak
8	('luɨ)	/'luɨ/	something
9	(bu'an)	/bu'an/	moon

1.7 Consonant clusters across syllable boundaries

The following consonant clusters have been found across syllable boundaries:

C_1 \ C_2	p	b	t	d	k	g	q	m	n	ŋ	s	l
p												
b		x										x
t			x					x				
d			x									
k	x	x	x			x		x				x
g	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
q												
m	x	x										
n			x	x	x	x			x			x
ŋ					x	x						
s		x	x		x			x		x		
l									x			x

C_1 is initial consonant.

C_2 is final consonant of cluster.

x geminate.

2. Morphophonemics

2.1 Changes with prefixation

2.1.1 Changes in root initial consonant with plural prefix /min-/.

The nasal of the prefix will be homorganic with following stops, nasals or /s/. The root initial consonant is often lost when it is /b,p,t,k,q,s,n/.

If the stop is glottal, the nasal will be /n/.

min + bis	/mi'mɨs/	'to borrow'
min + dagan	/min'dagan/	'to run'
min + guyud	/miŋ'guyud/	'to pull'
min + kamang	/mi'ŋamang/	'to get(singular actor)
min + kaman	/miŋ'kaman/	'to get(plural actor)
min + mamaq	/mimma'maq/	'to chew betelnut'
min + nan	/mi'nan/	'to call'
min + panaw	/mim'panaw/	'to go'
min + put	/mi'mut/	'to pick'
min + silib	/mi'nilib/	'to spy'
min + talu	/mi'nalu/	'to win'
min + taqun	/min'taqun/	'to defecate'
min + qike	/mi'nike/	'to laugh' (sg.actor)
min + qike	/min'qike/	'to laugh' (pl.actor)

When the initial consonant is /w,y/ and sometimes /s/, the nasal will be velar.

miŋ + walis	/miŋwa'lis/	'to sweep'
miŋ + sɨd	/miŋ'sɨd/	'to attend'
miŋ + yɨgyɨg	/miŋ'yɨgyɨg/	'to rock'

When the initial consonant is /l/, the nasal will be lost, and the /l/ will be geminate.

miŋ + lebes	/mil'lebes/	'to fill abundantly'
miŋ + lua	/mil'lua/	'to escape'

For plural causative action, initial /b/ in the root is assimilated with /m/ in the first syllable.

min + pa + bulak	/mimpa'mulak/	'to blossom'
min + pa + bu a	/mimpa'mu a/	'to bear fruit'

2.2 Changes with suffixation

The object focus suffix$_1$ is /-ɨn/. But when the preceding vowel is /u/, the suffix changes to /-un/

qubu + ɨn	/qu'bun/	'to cough'

When the suffixes are /ɨn/ object focus$_1$
/-un/ object focus$_1$
/-an/ beneficiary focus$_1$

and the root final vowel is the same as that of the suffix, one long vowel results.

qabe	+ ɨn	(qab :n)	'weave'
qubu	+ un	(qu d:n)	'cough'
basa	+ an	(basa:n)	'respect'

2.3 Changes with numbers

When cardinal numbers are preceding nouns, /-ŋ ka/ is added to the number. If the number ends with nasa 1 or plosive /-ɨŋka/ is added.

dua	+ pisos	/du'aŋka'pisos/	'two pesos'
upat	+ pisos	/upa'tɨŋka'pisos/	'four pesos'
ɨnɨm	+ pisos	/ɨnɨ'mɨŋka'pisos/	'six pesos'

In some cases a short form is used. /-ŋ/ is then added to the number. If the number ends with nasa 1 or plosive /ɨŋ/ is added. The initial glottal stop in /qallaw/ is assimilated with the preceding velar nasal and becomes another velar nasal.

dua	+ qallaw	/duaŋ'ŋallaw/	'two days'
syam	+ qallaw	/syamɨŋ'ŋallaw/	'nine days'
upat	+ qallaw	/upatɨŋ'ŋallaw/	'four days'

Numbers twenty to ninety are made by adding /ka- -an/ to the numbers two through nine. With dua 'two' the following change occurs:

The initial /d/ is lost and the following /u/ is assimilated with the prefix to one long /a/

/ka- -an/	+ dua	(ka:wan)	'twenty'

For thirty, Cebuanu tulo 'three' is used. Here the /u/ is lost, and the resulting form becomes

ka- -an	+ tulo	('katluan)	'thirty'

When the number has an initial glottal, the glottal is lost, and the following vowel is assimilated with the prefix to one long /a/.

ka- an-	+ qupat	('ka:patan)	'forty'
ka- -an	+ qɨnɨm	('ka:nɨman)	'sixty'

2.4 Change with particles (unstressed words)

da 'already' is attracted to aku 'I' and is phonetically one word in the following expression:

(muliq 'da:ku) 'I will go home'

Here the initial glottal in /qa'ku/ is lost and the two a's are assimilated to one long

'manaw + da + kami 'we will go'

Here the particle is attracted to the verb, and a change of stress occurs in the verb:

(ma'nawra kami) 'we will go'

With mina 'be like', the following change occurs:

Preceding ikaw 'you' the final /a/ is lost, and the nasal is made homorganic with the initial consonant of the pronoun which has lost its initial /i/:

mina kabiig 'like a bat'
(min'kaw na kabiig) 'you are like a bat'

FOOTNOTES

[1]The author wishes to acknowledge Behrens (1975) as the source of the format used for this paper. Dawson (1958) and Collins (1970) were sources of many specific insights into Kalagan phonology and Gallman (1977) proved quite useful in providing comparative background for this study. Thanks are also due to Gallman for reading an earlier draft of this paper and for giving useful comments thereon.

[2]Words marked with prefixed '+' have been taken from Murray (n.d.). Non-phonemic length is represented for vowels in examples enclosed in non-phonemic parentheses but non-phonemic vowel qualities are represented only where the particular variant of vowel quality is under discussion. The narrower transcription of vowel qualities can be retrieved in all examples through the application of the rules given in Section 1.5.2 Vowels, and in Footnotes 4 and 5. Wherever the symbol /e/ has been used for a vowel phoneme it is synonymous with /ɛ/.

[3]The phonemes /h/ and /r/ are not listed here. They do, however, function in loan vocabulary as contrastive phonemes in their own right.

/h/	hari	'king'
	maghinayhinay	'to do slowly'
/r/	relo	'watch'
	libro	'book'

[4]There is systematic variation of all vowels under stress in utterance-final position which is not listed in the statements of variation for the individual vowels. The variant which occurs in stressed vowels at the end of an utterance can be described as devoicing of the final portion of the vowel.

/mikatiʔ/	[mika'tiɪʔ]	'itch'
/madiʔ/	[ma'diɪʔ]	'bring'

[5]There is a third allophone of /i/ which occurs only in loan words. This allophone is slightly lower, approximating [e]. The spelling of these loanwords is orthographically 'e' following the norms of the source

language, but as far as the phonemic system of Kalagan is concerned, this allophone is to be grouped rather as an additional variant of the phoneme /i/.

/prisidinti/	[presi'dente]	'president'
/hotil/	[ho'tel]	'hotel'
/maistra/	[ma'estra]	'teacher'

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